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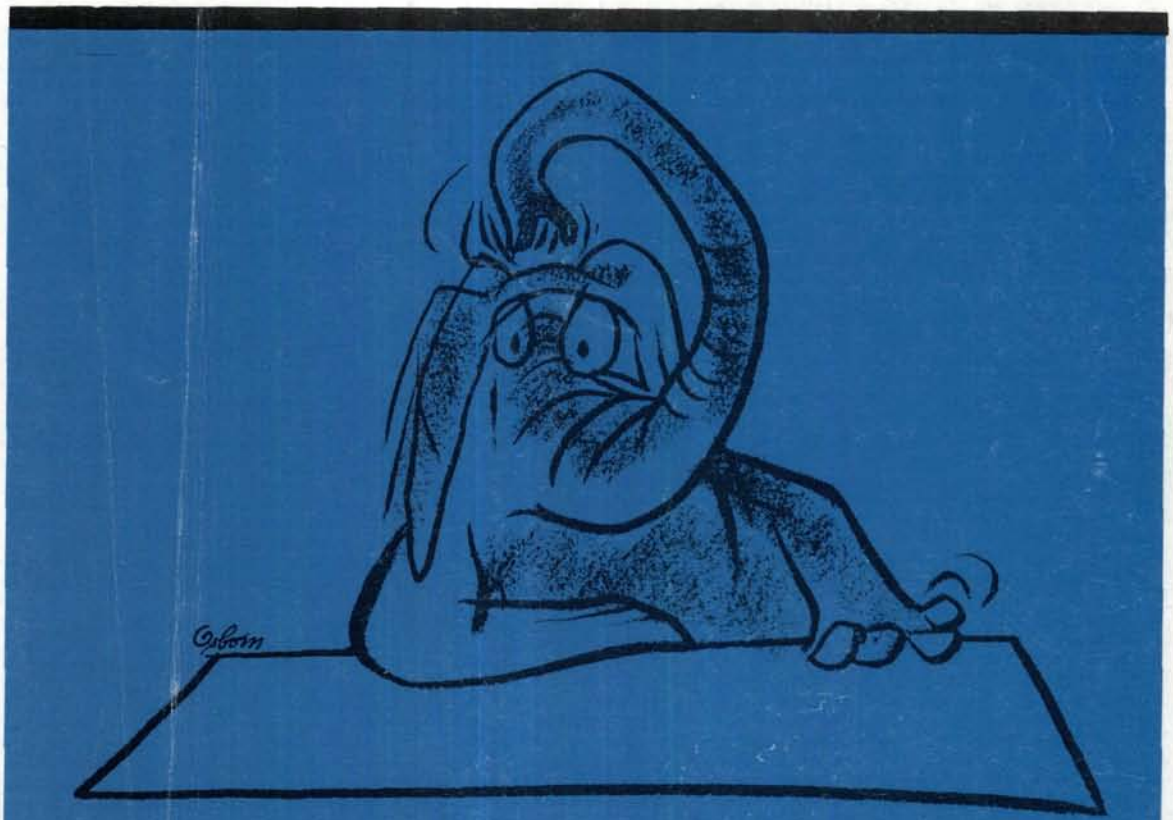
THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — June 14, 1969, 40 cents



What Will Nixon Do?

A Special Report on the Economy

by George L. Perry

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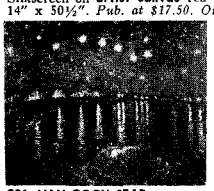

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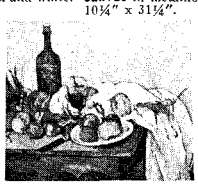

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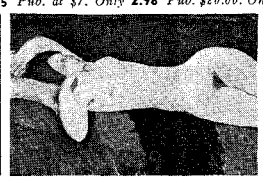

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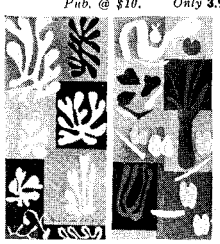

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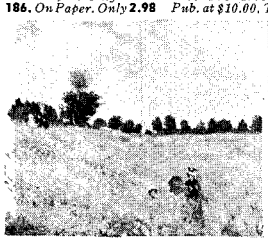

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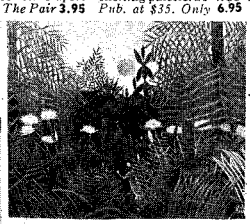

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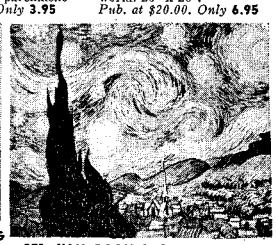

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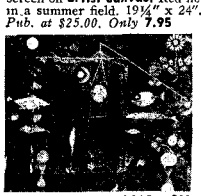

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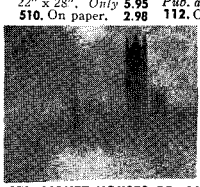

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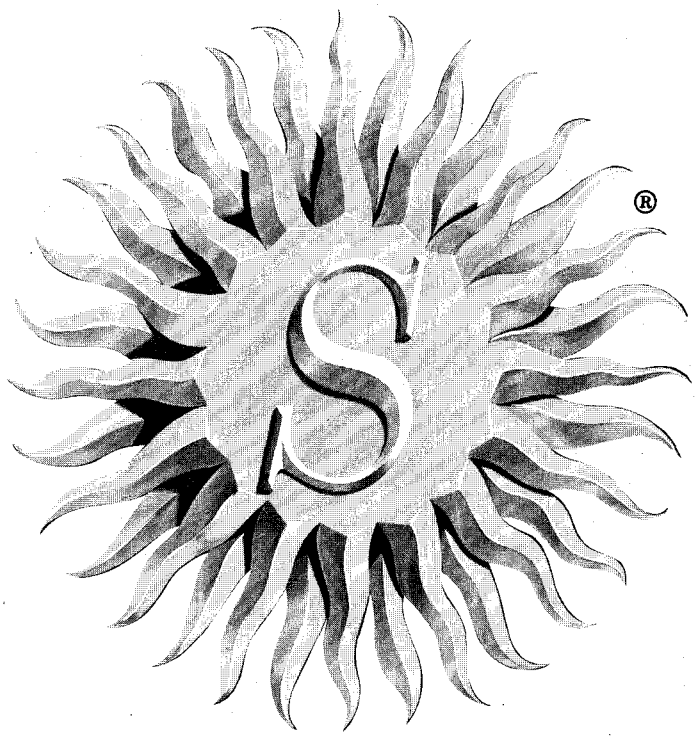

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TRB

from Washington

New Ball Game

This is the crunch, then. The ABM fight is joined. Mr. Nixon's extraordinary speech at the Air Force Academy en route to Midway (where most of Washington had suspected some sort of token troop withdrawal would be announced) left no doubt. A protracted dull period of a Democratic Congress warily watching a Republican President, and vice versa, is suddenly rent by Mr. Nixon's harsh attack on "the new isolationists."

The struggle is accompanied by a barrage of advertising. And the authority and prestige of the White House are thrown into the fray. This is a whole new ball game. It is time to take a fresh bearing on the Administration, the direction it is going and the situation of the country on the basis of eight months' experience since the election.

The situation of the country is not good. This is not Mr. Nixon's fault; he inherited it. As previously quoted, Counsellor to the President Arthur Burns says, "I think that a great sickness has gripped our society." Anybody can see it and feel it. Riots, ghettoes, mass transportation, taxes, inflation, pollution – make your own list. I will just cite one instance that recently came to my attention (forgive the statistics). There are 45 million elementary and secondary school children in the US, yet the money spent on them is so viciously and suicidally maldistributed that children in one town get an appropriation as low as $300 per pupil while those in another get $1,100-$1,200. Count the social cost: the richest garden/lawn suburbs spend up to $1,200 per pupil and official achievement ratings say their reading averages are a year or two above national average. The inner cities spend an average of $400-$500 a pupil, and pupil reading is a year or two below national average. The money "saved" on ghetto children is largely spent out again in higher costs of health, welfare and police. (In New York City, 47 percent of sixth graders can't read above third grade level.) Is a nation safe with this record?

There are incipient signs of revolt in Congress. The House last week gagged at the indecent spectacle of $3.3 billion paid to rich plantation owners and corporate farmers for not growing food, while tenant farmers went hungry after being ousted from idle land. The House voted, 224-142, to put a $20,000 limit on federal subsidies to rich planters. Will the prohibition stick? Nobody here really thinks so. The House made the same gesture last year but the farm lobby put subsidies back in conference. (It is like the story of the gun lobby. Remember how we all worked last year to pass a gun control law after Bobby Kennedy's assassination? Congress passed it all right after the National Rifle Association had watered it down. Importation of cheap foreign revolvers was banned. Fine! So import of 75,000 a year was stopped . . . and meanwhile our patriotic domestic firms, not banned by the law, have stepped up production till it now approaches 500,000 a year.)

Nixon's Pillories

So now we come back to the Nixon Administration. It was hailed as "middle-of-the-road." Mr. Nixon, it was thought, would seek the extreme center. It got under way extraordinarily slowly. Appointments were delayed. There appeared to be no advance plans. Congress marked time. There was no new approach to Red China. There was no relaxing of export controls to Eastern Europe. There seemed little change in Vietnam; pressure if anything, was stepped up. There was a slight reduction in military expenditures. Lyndon Johnson's preposterous plan to circle big cities with ABM's was modified.

On the domestic front Mr. Nixon backed and filled. In fairness, part of this was understandable; he is a minority President trying to alienate nobody. Everett Dirksen hung three scalps on his belt and is trying to block Dr. Knowles for Assistant Secretary of HEW. Mr. Nixon has ignobly failed to come to Dr. Knowles' support, to the humiliation of HEW Secretary Finch.

Mr. Nixon named bright young Congressman Rumsfeld (R., Ill.), who had consistently voted against poverty programs, to head the poverty program (OEO), nominated Otto Otepka, who had taken classified documents, to a $36,000 job on the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is supposed to block taking of classified documents, and picked handsome appeals court Judge Warren Burger, who quarreled with fellow justices on the lower court, to bring harmony on the Supreme Court.

Mr. Nixon threatens textile tariff quotas after declaring for freer trade in the election; he proposes a system of electoral college reform under which he, and not John F. Kennedy, would have won the 1960 election, although in the campaign he said he favored the "popular vote."

The foregoing, again in fairness, are not major matters; indeed Mr. Nixon favors a system of Post Office reform which seems admirable on the surface But ABM is another kettle of fish.

ABM is the baby of the Pentagon. It can wait till after a try at disarmament with the Russians. It is a symbol of military extravagance at a time when the crucial issue is getting more funds for the starving home front The "great sickness" that "has gripped our society" is at home. The domestic danger to America is greater than the foreign danger. This fact is so evident that for the first time in years, Congress is actually questioning the American Defense Establishment.

Into this situation Mr. Nixon tossed his Air Force Academy speech. It was shrewdly composed. The first part vindictively pilloried opponents of ABM and Vietnam as "the new isolationists" just as expertly as Mr. Nixon in his bad old days pilloried Adlai Stevenson for getting "a Ph.D. from Dean Acheson's 'College of Cowardly Communist Containment.'" After planting the poison, the second part of Mr Nixon's speech was all humbleness and sweetness; he specifically said he wasn't attacking those people whom he obviously had attacked in the first part of his speech. He had it both ways! Then on to Midway. But the atmosphere here is changed for good.

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The President Stumbles

President Nixon told his Air Force Academy audience last week it was important for them to be able to recognize a strawman issue when they saw one. Right. His address, prime primeval Nixon, was chockful of strawmen. It was an empty speech; an intemperate and irrelevant speech: a speech more suitable to a Presidential candidate than to the President of the United States.

Prominent men including Republicans have criticized the military lately, and with reason. In Mr. Nixon's eyes that makes them rebels, or worse. The President gorged the military with flattery, lashed their critics as isolationists and advocates of "unilateral disarmament." He did not dare name names. Is he hitting at Senator Javits, who wants to reorder the national priorities away from "limitless military power" toward restoring tranquility at home? Senators Brooks, Percy and Cooper? They oppose anti-ballistic missiles. The powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee? George Mahon says flatly that the many mistakes the military have made have caused people to lose confidence in them. Or was the barb aimed at Senator Symington? The former Secretary of the Air Force has totted up this country's "total investment in what are now acknowledged to be unworkable or obsolete missiles." Senator Symington finds that it amounts to "over $23 billions."

The truth is that there is in the country great and growing dissatisfaction with the military, and with military spending. It transcends party. A wise President, even if he does not agree that the military largely have themselves to blame, would share the unease. He would seek out its deepest causes and above all would listen carefully to those of his own party who are prepared to tell him frankly what they think has gone wrong and what he ought to do about it. The military are powerful and have powerful defenders. Anyone who criticizes them risks being steamrollered. Some leading Republicans as well as Democrats are ready to risk that. Mr. Nixon in his own interest ought to encourage them to speak up freely. Instead, he has now made it plain that they run a double risk if they speak out in future the way they have done in the recent past. Their double jeopardy consists of being assailed by the President himself, and in terms that might be considered objectionable even in the heat of an election campaign, even if directed against political opponents instead of

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political supporters. Mr. Nixon formerly made a career out of twisting words back into people's mouths to make them sound not just foolish but downright sinister. The current critics of the military are to be found high up in his own party, in what he sneeringly called last week "some of the best circles." Never mind. He tars them all with the same broad brush, implies that they are "the new isolationists," that they consider patriotism to be "a backward fetish," and that they "question the need for a strong national defense." If they don't believe in the Pentagon they don't believe in America.

Few of Mr. Nixon's targets in the past have been able to recognize themselves in his malicious descriptions of them. Republicans who share the general unease about military programs are likely now to be as hurt and baffled. "Who, me?" they may cry; and Mr. Nixon having hopefully intimidated them into abstaining from further questioning of his policy may assure them he never really intended the cap to fit. But will they accept that, and anyhow will they be silent? They are upright and spirited men. They will not be scared away by Mr. Nixon's innuendoes.

This is the more likely because the one thing in his poorly conceived speech that has substance is dangerously and alarmingly wrong. Mr. Nixon said defense decisions must rest on "the hard realities" of the Russians' military capability. The Russians have a capability to build many more missiles, bombers, submarines. So have we. That is the arms race. The correct response is to halt it, not go on with it. Mr. Nixon appears stubbornly resolved instead to repeat outmoded errors. Over sixty years ago, when Britain had two dreadnaughts and Germany none. Britain decided the Germans were capable of building 25 of the huge new warships in five years. By 1911, the Germans had built six dreadnaughts but Britain had built 14 more. That arms race helped bring on the first world war. And now Mr. Nixon threatens to repeat the mistakes of 1960 as well as of 1906. The Russians were supposed to be building vast numbers of missiles in the early sixties. They actually built only three percent of what the Pentagon predicted. By 1965 this country had left them far behind. Defense Secretary Laird's argument for an ABM rests on a belief that the Russians will have 500 big new missiles by 1975 – because that is said to be the Soviet capability. Even the CIA doubts they will build all these SS9's. The surest way to prevent it is by an arms moratorium. This has nothing to do with either "unilateral disarmament" or one-sided "good faith." A moratorium can be policed by both sides' radar and satellites. But Mr. Nixon puts off vital arms talks with Russia, perhaps to September. Tests of new US warheads will then be completed; then it will be impossible to halt the arms race. And Mr. Nixon adds insult to injury by suggesting that those who advise a different course are America's enemies.

Post Office Reform

The Post Office has revenues of $4.96 billion and spends more than $6.13 billion. The Federal Treasury makes up the $1.17 billion deficit. President Johnson's Postal Commission cited these figures as evidence that the Post Office is a very big business that isn't run in a businesslike way. Frederick Kappel, the retired board chairman of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company who was in charge of the postal commission study, wondered why the Post Office wasn't run more like the phone company. He recommended turning the Post Office into a government corporation, with a board of directors, and removing it from direct control by Congress.

The Kappel Commission did a very good job of documenting Post Office inefficiencies: personnel practices "antiquated," working conditions "poor," career opportunities and training "limited," supervision of employees "inadequate," labor-management relations "unproductive." In addition to the huge deficit, there is a 23 percent annual turnover in employees; 85 percent of postal workers are bunched in the lowest job categories; 80 percent never rise above the grades they began in. Mail service is erratic. Cross-country service is often faster than local, surface mail faster than air. Post offices are dirty, dark, crowded, noisy, poorly air-conditioned, not mechanized.

Congress is basic to the problems of the Post Office; no matter how they are to be solved, Congress must figure in the solution. The Kappel Commission (whose recommendations do not differ substantially from the Nixon Administration's reorganization bill) wanted the authority to set postal rates to pass from Congress to a three-man panel which would recommend rate changes to the Corporation's Board of Directors. Changes the board approved would be implemented unless Congress specifically vetoed them. At present, Congress holds hearings and legislates rate changes. The Commission further proposed that funds to modernize postal facilities should not come from congressional appropriations, but from bonds issued and sold by the postal corporation and guaranteed by the government. Mechanization would introduce economies that would allow the rate setters to keep down postage increases, and, ostensibly, the Post Office would ultimately be in the black. Wages and benefits for postal employees would be determined not by Congress but in collective bargaining between postal unions and the corporation.

Postmaster General Blount favors the reorganization plan even though it does away with his job. Former Postmaster General Marvin Watson finally came to favor reorganization. But, according to David Minton, staff director and counsel for the Senate Post Office

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Committee, "when Marvin came in, his position was that Congress would never pass it, so why propose it?"

Former Postmaster General J. Edward Day thinks the Kappel Commission recommendations are an attempt to avoid the basic problem of the Post Office: the failure of Congress to appropriate funds to modernize and so ultimately reduce the costs of running the Department. Watson and Day are probably both right.

Congressmen On Campus

Last week at a state college in South Dakota, the President spoke for the old, basic values – respect for the individual, self-reliance, the democratic process – and against "those intoxicated with the romance of violent revolution." Last week too, one congressman – who arrived at Sproul Plaza in Berkeley only minutes after a helicopter sprayed tear gas on thousands of student protesters on May 20 – had this sad comment: "It's hard to keep from being radicalized when you're facing bayonets and tear gas."

A second congressman back from five days of face to face encounters with the hostile black students on a dozen Southern campuses ("I'd rather shoot you than talk to you") warned that "an alarming proportion say they're ready to resort to more-or-less extreme methods and means." And they will not be put off by Presidential homilies.

Twenty-two House Republicans, including the two just quoted, split into groups of three and four to probe, on the scene, the depth of student unrest on 50 campuses and the causes of it, in late May. Though their official report is still being compiled and will go to the White House first, enough is known to predict that it will not be the students, but, rather, administrators, trustees, faculties, campus and off-campus police and public officials who will bear the brunt of their criticism.

Take the case of a 40-year-old freshman member of Congress from the Southwest. Most of his life has been spent in his family's successful insurance business. His contact with campus radicals had been through the columns of his daily newspaper. Here are some of his comments after his Southern swing: Most student demands are not only "legitimate" but usually "moderate." Administrators and faculty "did little to meet student desires to be heard." In the cases where they "heard students out, they rarely listened."

He and his colleagues were shocked over a meeting with a member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in a Southern city. A local FBI contact had warned them against meeting this "very dangerous" student. They did. They found him about as "meek and mild" as any student they encountered. They left that city shaking their head in wonderment over the FBI evaluation.

Before the end of their five-day encounter, a Republican congressman confessed he "wanted to hang his head" every time a black student started talking about the upper middle class with its $10,000-per-year income and two cars. And that member had in private life more than made it into that bracket.

Of students, generally, another Republican congressman said: "They're significantly more aware of the problems facing society than their predecessors." Of trustees: "They're often unresponsive and even repressive."

One quoted a student who wondered how he could respect the chairman of the trustees of his school when the man headed a company that had just been indicted for price fixing.

Of campus police: One termed them "retreads" who need to be upgraded.

A Bay area congressman from a suburban district, who arrived at Sproul Plaza with the tear gas still hanging in the air, called the helicopter attack "appalling, simply appalling." His private comments about Gov. Ronald Reagan aren't those a Republican would be expected to make. The lawmakers who were at Berkeley visited other California campuses. Everywhere they found students organizing to support their Berkeley contemporaries.

Down South, another team was coming to understand what it meant to be black, say on the campus of the University of South Carolina where about 185 of over 14,000 students are black and at least 70 percent of the whites cling to some degree of segregationist attitudes. In a private, on-the-spot aside, one member confessed he'd "become a revolutionary, too," if he had to endure what the black students he'd just listened to were putting up with daily.

The 22 who made the trip represented every shade of GOP opinion, from deeply conservative through moderate to liberal. They are young men, most of them in their first or second terms. It was Rep. William Brock (R., Tenn.), himself a veteran of a few more terms but only 38, who put it together. The White House, which had had nothing to do with their going, was quick to call them in and ask for a first look at the report they were compiling. Some of their findings are bound to make unpleasant reading. Almost without exception, the congressmen came to realize, as Mr. Nixon did not in South Dakota last week, that the roots of student unrest spread beyond the campus. A few are ready to say the unrest will never be solved

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as long as white and black students face the prospect of being drafted to fight in the rice paddies of Southeast Asia, or as long as black students must live in a closed society.

Paul R. Wieck

Sweet and Sinister

In April Dr. Herbert Ley, Jr., Food and Drug Administration Commissioner, announced a proposed regulation which will require new labels on food products containing cyclamates, the widely used artificial sweeteners. This regulation calls for a statement of the amount of cyclamate contained in a normal serving of food or in a bottle of beverage. Manufacturers will also be required to specify the upper limits of cyclamate consumption that the FDA considers safe (3.5 grams per day for adults and 1.2 grams per day for children).

These maximum values, based upon the estimated amount of cyclamate that may produce a laxative effect, were suggested by the World Health Organization and the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. The content of cyclamate varies greatly among products, and in the case of certain soft drinks (Diet Pepsi and Fresca) the limit for children is exceeded by two 12 ounce bottles.

No official warning has been made regarding the possibility of dangers to unborn children, despite the fact that these sweeteners have been shown to enter the fetuses of pregnant animals. Two Italian scientists (Ghiani and Accame) at the University of Genoa have recently shown that cyclamates can produce club-foot deformities in developing chickens. Other malformations of the skin and extremities were found among young embryos that were similarly exposed. Abnormalities of this sort, known as teratogenic effects, correspond to some changes produced by thalidomide. Other animal experiments have suggested that cyclamates may destroy fetuses or produce abortions.

Most cyclamate is manufactured from cyclohexylamine (CHA), a toxic chemical, which has been implicated in chromosome damage and destruction of animal fetuses. The proposed regulation will limit the amount of CHA that may be present in cyclamate as a contaminant. Many humans, however, spontaneously convert cyclamate into CHA within their bodies. Pregnant women who consume cyclamate run the risk that they may be "converters" and that their unborn children may be exposed to CHA.

Cyclamate and saccharin, which are commonly used together for commercial purposes, have been described by the FDA since 1960 as GRAS ("generally recognized as safe"). This designation, by an act of administrative legerdemain, has meant that although they were added to foods, these sweeteners were not "food additives" for the purpose of the strict testing and safety provisions of the federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act. Current FDA actions will probably result in the removal of cyclamates from the GRAS list and in their becoming full fledged "food additives."

By the new regulation, the FDA suggests that people "count milligrams" to limit their consumption of cyclamate. This scheme presupposes that consumers are mathematically inclined, and that they are aware of each cyclamate-containing product that they use. Many purchasers, however, buy and use diet foods by mistake. This fact was pointed out in the March 1969 issue of the *Progressive Grocer* (which calls itself "The Magazine of Super Marketing"). That publication described a technique of stimulating sales by removing low-calorie products from "diet departments" and grouping them with similar sugar-sweetened goods throughout the store.

Since low-calorie products are often used by all members of purchasing families (it is more convenient to serve one kind of food), many children are being exposed to cyclamates indirectly. Granulated sugar substitutes containing cyclamate and saccharin are now being actively promoted. They will probably be used by many children on their daily cereal. Because of the multiple routes by which cyclamates can enter the diet, the "milligram counting" that the FDA suggests will probably be either disregarded or impossible to follow.

In response to the FDA announcement, Abbott Laboratories (the largest cyclamate producer) suggested that the new requirements may frighten the public without justification. Some other representatives of the artificial sweetener industry have reacted more favorably and support the proposed regulation. In any case, the current action is probably an interim measure, since investigations by the NAS-NRC should eventually produce relatively complete data regarding the safety and dangers of these sweeteners.

The FDA, in undertaking a long-overdue rewriting and tightening of its regulations, may actually block comprehensive reform by establishing limits that will probably not be followed and by directing attention away from areas of potential danger. The reports of malformations and abortions in some animals suggest that these sweeteners should not be used by pregnant women until they are conclusively shown to be safe. The amount of cyclamate that could possibly be harmful to fetuses may even be smaller than the new FDA limits, which were primarily set by laxative effects. Similarly, until more data are accumulated, there seems to be no reason for children to be exposed to cyclamates unless their use is medically indicated.

Arthur S. Grove, Jr., M.D.

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Why We're Returning Okinawa to Japan

by Alex Campbell

Okinawa

US military forces on Okinawa, the "Keystone of the Pacific," lost their credibility 18 months ago when North Korea captured the US spy ship *Pueblo*. What are they doing here, these 55,000 soldiers, airmen, sailors and Marines, if in a crunch they were helpless to save the *Pueblo* from ignominious seizure? Our 19,000 airmen, 8,000 sailors and 3,200 Marines in Japan cannot be dispatched on a combat mission until the Japanese government has been consulted, under the 1960 terms of the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty. But Americans on Okinawa are under no such restriction. The Air Force on Okinawa says indignantly that its planes are always in the air, and could have gone to the *Pueblo's* rescue, but Washington issued no call for action. That negative decision perhaps was reached because, by the time Washington heard the *Pueblo* was in trouble, the spy ship was already in a North Korean port. In any event Okinawa's credibility gap was here to stay. Washington will in consequence yield to demands for Okinawa's reversion to Japan, possibly by 1972, when B-52 bombers will no longer be taking off from Okinawa to blast targets in South Vietnam. Everything is now in train for what the Okinawans call *ittaika*, or "one-ness" with Japan. Last week the Japanese foreign minister, Mr. Kiichi Aichi, met President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers in Washington. US-Japan talks in Tokyo in July or August, ostensibly about trade, will provide opportunity for further discussion. Finally, Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato hopes to clinch the matter with Mr. Nixon in Washington in November. Sato expects to leave the White House with a firm date for the return of Okinawa to Japan. The air and naval bases will stay a while, but will operate under the restrictions that apply to the American bases in Japan. The United States is expected to defer to Japanese wishes and remove nuclear weapons from Okinawa. It has never been publicly admitted that there are any, but there is a tactical missile unit as well as an Air Force strategic wing at Kadena air base.

None of this sits well with the US military on Okinawa. Their view is the island is too valuable to be given up. First, there is its strategic locality: a round 1,000 miles from either Manila or Tokyo, less than a round 500 miles from either Taipei or Shanghai. American military bases in Taiwan are too close to the Asian mainland; Guam, 2,500 miles deeper in the Pacific than Okinawa, is too far. Then there's the expense of a move. It would cost at least $2 billion to create a substitute Okinawa, for instance on the South Korean island of Cheju which has been offered. Even so, any replacement would be inadequate, for where else could the US find a trained labor force of 59,000 skilled men thoroughly used to working on an American base? Lastly, the military argue that as things are now, the US has untrammeled use of Okinawa. The island can be employed for either conventional or nuclear war. In a nuclear war Okinawa itself would be very vulnerable, so the military are obviously thinking in terms not of a nuclear exchange, but of nuclear weapons on Okinawa deterring a conventional attack anywhere in the wide region that Okinawa shields. They argue that an enemy who feared his aggression would provoke even small "tactical" nuclear retaliation from Okinawa would think twice. Remove the nuclear capability from Okinawa, and that deterrence is lost.

These ingenious arguments were blown to shreds by the *Pueblo* affair. Not a single plane left Okinawa to go to the spy ship's aid, and the knowledge that there are nuclear weapons on Okinawa did not deter the North Koreans. Nevertheless the US military in Okinawa still go on patiently repeating that when the island reverts to Japan, a nuclear advantage will be lost. The well-known aversion of the Japanese people to nuclear weapons ensures that Japan will not tolerate them on the island once it is back under the Japanese flag. And Okinawa's usefulness for conventional war will also be diminished, even if the American air and naval bases are allowed to remain. For Japan will henceforth have to be consulted about combat use of the bases, and a Japanese prime minister who gave his okay to an American combat mission – like unleashing B-52's on Asians – would probably be committing political *hara-kiri*.

What this argument of the US military boils down to is that it is easier for the United States to defend Japan if the US is unhampered by the wishes of the Japanese people. Easier perhaps, but wholly impractical. The only choice for the United States is not to cling stubbornly to Okinawa, but to reach agreement with the 100 million Japanese, who are now the world's third industrial power. This choice has been made; the US is irrevocably committed to Okinawa's reverting to Japan.

Okinawa is the largest and most populated of the Ryukyu island chain that stretches 40 miles east of Taiwan toward southern Japan. The islands were annexed by Japan in 1872, and in the ensuing 73 years the islanders complained that they were treated by Tokyo as poor relations. Their grievances didn't prevent the Okinawans passionately identifying themselves with Japan and behaving as first-rate patriots. In the spring of 1945, one Okinawan in eight died trying to prevent the Americans from occupying the island and hauling down the Japanese flag.

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But Okinawa has now been under American orders for a quarter of a century, half as long as the US ruled the Philippines. The Okinawans have never ceased regarding themselves as Japanese or ceased demanding that their island to be returned under the Japanese roof. Nevertheless, enormous changes have meantime occurred in their way of life. They no longer are simple farmers and fisherfolk, eking out a meager uncertain livelihood on a tropical Pacific island that is frequently swept by typhoons. Their standard of living has risen to the point that there are now more automobiles to population than in Japan. Eight years ago, Highway One, a four-lane road built by the US on the island's east coast, was monopolized by military traffic. Highway One is now one long civilian traffic jam. The price of land has risen so high that the only way to uncork the bottleneck may be to build a new highway out on the coral shore. Ten years ago, Okinawa's per capita income per year was $145; today it is $580 and there have been few price increases apart from land. For the past five years, Okinawa's real rate of economic growth has been 13 percent annually. Okinawan companies run by Okinawans make big money, and reinvest up to 20 percent of their profits. The 59,000 Okinawans who work on the US bases draw $35.5 million in annual pay. American spending, and US and Japanese economic assistance, pour more funds into the economy. The island's imports vastly exceed its exports, $379 million to $89 million. US spending at a rate of about $220 million a year almost plugs the hole. The remainder of the gap is more than wiped out by $39 million in US economic aid, and also $63 million in Japanese aid (Japan last year offered $40 million, the Okinawans at once demanded $80 million).

The American plan has been to encourage as much home rule as will not interfere with base operations. The government of the Ryukyu islands consists of a directly elected chief executive, Mr. Chobyu Yara who won last November, and a 32-man legislature; 31 are members of 4 political parties, and there is one Independent. The Liberal Democratic Party has 18 seats, the Socialist Masses Party 8, the (Communist) Okinawa People's Party 3, and the Japan Socialist Party 2. So the 18 Liberal Democrats confront 10 Socialists and three Communists. But all parties want reversion to Japan, and Mr. Yara won chiefly on that issue. The Ryukyu government still has some leading strings. The United States Civil Administrator, Stanley S. Carpenter, has a whole civil administration of his own, nine departments including Labor, Public Works and Health, Education, and Welfare; but he and they say their function is to tender advice and technical assistance to the Ryukyu government and its 13,000 Okinawan employees. The US High Commissioner, Lt-Gen. James B. Lampert, a West Pointer and engineer who is an expert on nuclear weapons and logistics, has power to overrule the chief executive and the legislature. But it is a long time since that veto was used and it will be a surprise if it is exercised again.

This suggests all will be plain sailing for *ittaika*. The real problems, however, may surface after reversion. And they may have little to do with US bases. Once the Okinawans are back under the Japanese roof, old grievances against Japan may reassert themselves. Reversion, after an interval of jubilation, may be followed by growing Okinawan demands for home rule; at least for a far greater degree of autonomy than Tokyo normally accords an ordinary Japanese prefecture. The island's new class of businessmen are likely to demand (and to need) protection against Japanese competition if they are to survive. Okinawa, after 25 years of American rule and large doses of the American way of life, won't resemble any other Japanese prefecture. This is likely to prove ticklish for the Japanese authorities. In spite of all the pumped-up enthusiasm in Tokyo about Okinawans as soul brothers, few Japanese really regard Okinawans as Japanese or as equals. And if the Okinawans demand and get better than average treatment, how are other prefectures going to feel?

Japanese who concede in private that much of the fuss about the return of Okinawa has been the work of Japanese and Okinawan politicians seeking an issue, also admit that the show caught the public fancy, and the issue is now real. The cynics however note with dry amusement that a similar bid to regain four northern islands that the Russians occupy has fallen flat. Nobody cares much about Habomei, Shikotan, Etorofu and Kunashiri, partly because nobody seriously expects the Russians to hand the islands back, without demanding some impossible *quid pro quo*. Interest in Okinawa has been kept alive by the publicity attending the US bases, visits of American nuclear submarines, and air crashes. The Russians do not publicize the Kuriles. The clamor for Okinawa is at least in part a product of American success in developing the island.

Meanwhile, the Japanese are pampering the Okinawans whom they wish to welcome home. The Okinawans have learned to like Californian rice, and to despise the Japanese rice that Tokyo humbly offers as part of its economic assistance to the island. Japan buys from Okinawa, at high prices, sugar and pineapples that could certainly be got cheaper elsewhere. Okinawans buy gasoline at half the price that is charged in Japan. When the Japanese get the island back, the pampering may have to continue and even be intensified. Looking forward to the day when the American bases are removed, far-sighted Japanese are urging that big *zaibatsu* Japanese firms begin now to put steel mills and other major plants on the island, in order to provide employment for Okinawans. This

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no doubt would help de-pollute Japan's own smog-filled atmosphere, but is it an economic proposition? The big Japanese companies themselves seem somewhat dubious about its practicality. There appears little prospect that American bases on Okinawa will in due course be replaced by Japanese military bases. The Okinawan sentiment against militarism is if anything even stronger than the antiwar sentiment in Japan itself. The Okinawan Socialists are politically stronger than the Japanese Socialists. And an Okinawan Socialist expressed outright horror at the very idea that the Japanese "Self Defense Forces" might one day replace American airmen and Marines on Okinawa. "Why, they would never be allowed to land!" he exclaimed. "They would be met at the port by antiwar demonstrators crying 'Go back!'" Evidently a lot has changed since the Okinawans bravely fought in defense of Japanese imperialism.

In order to retain Japan's goodwill, the US has to return the Ryukyus. Since that has already been decided – the US has always recognized that Japan possesses "residual sovereignty" over Okinawa – the transfer ought to take place as soon as is reasonably possible. If it can be done before 1972 so much the better; it should not be delayed a moment longer. A firm date for the islands' return ought to be announced before the end of this year, otherwise the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty is going to run into very rough weather in 1970, when the Japanese Socialists are certain to demand the termination of the treaty. Above all, the inevitable removal of nuclear weapons from Okinawa ought not to mean merely that they will be planted somewhere else in the vicinity. There is already talk in Washington of the weapons being removed to "other sites in the Pacific area." What other sites? The islands of Micronesia, which formerly belonged to Japan and for 22 years have been administered by the United States as trustee for the United Nations? That would not only be a mockery of the trust but, by the arguments of the American military themselves, would be useless because of the great distances involved. The US already has a missile base at Kwajalein and this is permitted under the terms of the UN trusteeship, but to proceed from this to using the Western Pacific islands as bases for offensive missiles (to "deter Peking") would be a long step in the wrong direction. It would provoke new tension, with Japan as well as China. And it would be militarily worthless – why seek out remote islands as new "keystones of the Pacific" when the US has all those submarines with nuclear missiles on board? The true keystone of peace in the Pacific is a solid US-Japan partnership which won't be achieved, is far likelier to be wrecked, by returning Okinawa to Tokyo "clean" of nuclear weapons – and then perversely planting the missiles elsewhere in the area.

The Rise of Harry Dent

by John Osborne

Whatever it was that happened at the White House and changed his life and the lives of several other people in late April, Harry Dent says, it happened while he was abroad and he didn't have a thing to do with it. All that Harry admits to knowing about it is what other people, including the President, told him when Harry got back from a trip to Europe and Asia with Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans. Harry isn't saying what they told him, except that from then on he was to be recognized and respected by everybody at the White House and by everybody concerned with the affairs of the party as the President's personally chosen and empowered "political coordinator."

The news was slow in getting out, presumably because neither the President nor Harry Dent nor anyone else at the White House was anxious to have it known. When it did leak out, it was of more than passing interest because of Harry's background. He is known in Washington and throughout the sub-world of national politics as Senator Strom Thurmond's man. Aged 39, a lawyer, a native of South Carolina and still a deacon and trustee of the Kathwood Baptist Church in Columbia, the state capital and his family home, he worked for Senator Thurmond from January 1, 1955, until his appointment to the incoming White House staff was announced last December. It was one of the first Nixon appointments, it occurred after Senator Thurmond conferred with the President-elect in New

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York, and it was announced with more fanfare than the choice of a deputy assistant to the President usually receives. Dent acknowledges that the appointment was made in recognition of Senator Thurmond's services to Nixon in holding decisive portions of the South for him at the nominating convention and afterward.

Now Dent himself, the entire White House establishment, and the Nixon leadership recently installed at the Republican National Committee headquarters in Washington are engaged in promoting a new identity for Harry. The way the press keeps pinning the Thurmond tag on Harry Dent is said to be a sin and a shame, a bitter injustice to a brilliant master of practical politics. The sanctioned word is that Harry Dent is no longer Strom Thurmond's man. He is Richard Nixon's man. Dent prefers to do his part in fashioning the new identity on an off-record basis, but he allows himself to be quoted as follows: "Senator Thurmond is certainly a good friend of mine, and I feel that he is a good friend of this Administration. The Senator has always known that this Administration could not agree with all of the Thurmond positions. He very clearly understands that I am working for Richard Nixon and that my loyalty is to Richard Nixon. Senator Thurmond demands and expects your complete loyalty when you are working for him, and he expects that you will give the same loyalty to anybody else you are working for." Nixon is said to have asked and received firm assurances to the same effect from Thurmond before Dent was appointed. Through Jack Ravan, one of his assistants, Senator Thurmond was invited the other day to state his understanding of his present personal and working relationship, if any, with Dent. Ravan consulted the Senator and said that he wished to be quoted as follows: "Mr. Harry Dent is a man of splendid character and ability. He brings to the job a man dedicated to constitutional government."

John Sears, a 28-year-old lawyer who was thought until lately to be doing a good job for Mr. Nixon as his political coordinator, shares Suite 166 in the Executive Office Building, next door to the White House, with Harry Dent and might be supposed to know why he was summarily displaced after three years of close association with the President. Sears was a junior employe of the former Nixon law firm in New York when he was transferred to Nixon's personal staff in early 1966. He has no political ties to anybody except the President. His skill at sizing up politicians and political situations is attested by men who worked with him for Nixon's nomination and election, and he is given much of the credit for keeping Vice President Agnew from becoming more of a liability than he was during the 1968 campaign. Why, then, the President's decision in April to supersede him with Harry Dent?

When Sears proved to be discreetly vague on the subject, I told him (for needling purposes) that I had observed to a couple of his admirers on the White House staff that it looked to me as if he had been the victim of "a plain, old-fashioned nut-cutting operation." Suppositions and remarks of this kind are not appreciated at the Nixon White House and I half expected Sears to throw me out of his office. He didn't. With a look of amused and detached interest on his owlish face, he wanted to know what his friends had said. When he was told that they had accepted the suggestion in silence, Sears indicated that he couldn't care less. Rumors that he was about to quit were false. He was staying as a deputy assistant, on the staff of Counsel John Ehrlichman, which also is Dent's official status and title. At the request and with the blessing of the President, Sears would be planning over the long range and thinking about how to win Republican victories in 1970 and 1972 and – one gathered – happily leaving the grubby details of day-to-day political coordination to Harry Dent.

Political coordination is a euphemism for what Congressman Rogers C. B. Morton of Maryland, who was chosen by Nixon to be chairman of the Republican National Committee, calls the "nitty-gritty type of detail that has to be interacted between the White House and the national committee." Getting big-money contributors invited to White House dinners and receptions is an example of nitty-gritty. Making sure that good Republicans are preferred for appointive jobs is another example. Giving Republicans who work at being Republicans, in Congress and elsewhere, a sense that they have at the White House a friend who will answer the telephone when they call, whose values are their values, is the supreme essence of nitty-gritty. Richard Nixon, a nitty-gritty politician if there ever was one, did not permit these aspects of the Presidency and of his party responsibilities to be altogether neglected during his first months in the office. But, outwardly and to some extent in fact, he tried to place himself above and away from them. Morton's predecessor at the national committee, Ray Bliss, and the committee as such had practically no communication with the Nixon White House and were almost wholly excluded from the early patronage process. John Sears, with his clinically intelligent approach to politics and politicians, and two other Presidential assistants dealing with personnel matters, Harry Flemming and Peter Flanigan, simply did not strike orthodox Republicans as the proper types to be vetting candidates for high-level, high-pay appointments before they were approved and announced by the President. It was not so much that Nixon's talent hunters scorned Republican applicants – they didn't; far from it – but that they looked first for good *Nixon* Republicans, second for good *party* men, and that they actually seemed to believe all that Nixon stuff about quality first and party next. Before he accepted the

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committee chairmanship, Rogers Morton came to an understanding with Nixon that this sort of nonsense would have to be curbed, and that essentially is why Harry Dent replaced John Sears as the President's man at the nitty-gritty level of White House politics.

Watching Harry Dent at work is a joy. In contrast with the tanned, lean, tailored chaps from advertising and the law who dominate Nixon's immediate staff. Harry is a slightly pudgy man who appears to regard clothing as a necessary nuisance. His low-country South Carolina accent, unimpaired by his years in Washington, lends an extra dimension to the political business he transacts by telephone from eight in the morning until midnight and later. A recent nighttime caller who could not avoid overhearing snatches of a conversation (at 9 p.m.) with Secretary of Labor George Schulz was entranced by the way Harry murmured. "Now, I'll tell you, Mister Seckerterry," and proceeded to tell. Harry would never tell a Cabinet Secretary what to do or not to do. But he is free to suggest that in a delicate matter the Secretary let so-and-so have his say, or consult a state chairman or a generous businessman or a powerful labor leader, just making certain that all the bases are touched before something is done that might make trouble for "the man in the Oval Office." Robert Brown, a former public relations man from North Carolina and Nixon's ranking black assistant, is one of the many who speak well of Harry Dent. Harry has what it takes for his job, Bob Brown says, and never mind certain differences of view that a white Southerner and a black Southerner are born with. And, Brown joins the White House chorus in saying, never mind Harry's past ties.

The Dent assignment is one of several ways in which Nixon is tying his Presidency closer to the Republican Party and its needs. Rogers Morton, discussing these moves at a recent press conference, made it clear that he is going to look for a lot of cooperation from, among others on the Nixon staff, Communications Director Herbert Klein. The national committee staff is getting geared to give Nixon speeches, statements and other official White House material a distribution for political purposes that the executive office could not legally finance. The Cabinet Secretaries have been told to designate staffers who will be at the national committee's disposal as Dent and Klein are at the White House. What Morton has requested and been promised at each department and agency is "a sort of political pivot, [a] person that we can talk to who has the ear of the Secretary or Director [so that] we do have an opportunity to at least review and advise in matters of appointment." Although nobody says so, Harry Dent is to be the director and overseer of this entire politicizing process – not exaggerating the importance of party politics in the Presidential picture, he insists, but merely according it the place in the scheme it should have had all along.

Dent's credentials for the assignment are impeccable. What seems grubby and dull to men like Sears, Flemming and Flanigan seems to Harry Dent to be sensible, exciting and downright good. He was a Democrat, standard Southern and South Carolina style, until Strom Thurmond switched to the Republicans and Goldwater in 1964, when Harry did, too. Thurmond sent him home to South Carolina in late 1965, to take over the state party and organize it for Thurmond's reelection as a Republican in 1966. Dent figured, coldly and factually, that to win Strom had to run as the white man's candidate (as he had always run, for that matter), and that with his past record of nigger-baiting he had no chance of attracting black votes. So Harry shaped the South Carolina Republican stance accordingly – not just to get Thurmond reelected, he says now, but to establish a permanent and effective Republican second party in one-party South Carolina. Twenty-five Republicans were elected to the state assembly, a surprising number of others won locally, and Dent didn't argue with people who said he was a miracle worker. Last year, when as state chairman and Thurmond's man he ran the Nixon campaign in South Carolina and four other Southeastern states, his South Carolina Republicans took a terrible beating in their home races, but South Carolina and three others of Dent's five states went for Nixon. Dent and Thurmond aimed their campaign for Nixon at George Wallace rather than at Hubert Humphrey, and as things turned out Nixon would have lacked an electoral majority if the tactic had failed and Wallace had won in what Dent now calls his states. For this, and for Dent's work at the Miami Beach convention to blunt Governor Ronald Reagan's great appeal to South Carolina and other Southern delegates, Nixon was duly grateful. He is said to have made something of a study of Harry Dent after the election, and to have concluded that he is in fact as skilled at political nitty-gritty as his admirers (Harry included) say he is.

In his first months at the White House, Dent behaved pretty much as Thurmond's man was expected to. He had a hand in postponing showdowns with several segregated Southern school districts, including two in South Carolina, but abandoned them to their fate once it became clear that they had been foolish enough to believe the explicit assurances of Strom Thurmond and the implied promises of Richard Nixon that they would not have to integrate if Nixon was elected. Dent also intervened in behalf of three Southern textile firms that were about to lose military clothing contracts because they had failed to hire Negroes in the proportions required by law and defense regulations. It was Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, not Dent, who waived the written guarantees required by law and settled for oral assurances from the firms, and one is asked at the White House to believe

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that Dent had nothing to do with the latter phases of the case. His trip to Europe and the Far East with Commerce Secretary Stans was arranged in order to show Southern textile, tobacco and soybean producers that the Nixon Administration is as eager as it claims it is to protect their markets at home and abroad from hurtful competition. The Stans mission appears to have been a roaring failure, but nobody blames Harry for that and the affected producers are assumed to be grateful to Nixon for sending their friend along.

The word is that Dent's Southern and parochial concerns are over with. The scope of his services to and for President Nixon is intended to be national from now on out. Rogers Morton and his reorganized staff at the national committee are tickled pink and there is no better authority on what is expected of Harry, in his role as Richard Nixon's man than the new Republican chairman. Quoting Morton:

"We will develop with Harry a working relationship that will provide the President through him a good briefing of what we're doing, of what the political situation is . . . It simplifies the thing a great deal if we've got somebody that we can call and get to quickly and they have got somebody that has the time to call our committee and get information quickly . . . We also would expect from Harry a lot of advice and counsel and what the interpretations of the White House are in connection with political strategy and situations. I believe that Harry is a very knowledgeable person and he's got a lot of energy and we will probably work his office pretty hard."

That's for sure and Harry will love it.

Who Makes Those Commitments?

Congress and Foreign Policy

by Hans J. Morgenthau

The Senate of the United States is about to begin debate on Resolution 85, reported out by the Foreign Relations Committee with the sole dissenting vote of Senator Gale McGee (D., Wyo.), according to which,

> "it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment by the United States to a foreign power necessarily and exclusively results from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government through means of a treaty, convention, or other legislative instrumentality specifically intended to give effect to such a commitment."

The committee contends that "it is no longer accurate to characterize our government, in matters of foreign relations, as one of separated powers checked and balanced against each other . . . the executive has acquired virtual supremacy over the making as well as the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States . . . the real power to commit the country to war is now in the hands of the President." The committee cites declarations by officials of successive administrations concerning the Middle East, Vietnam, SEATO, Spain, in order to show how commitments of the United States developed from a series of unilateral official declarations, "by accretion," as the committee puts it, without Congress having any say.

This state of affairs, according to the committee, is a perversion of the constitutional intent and a corruption of earlier constitutional practice. The resolution intends to restore the constitutional prerogatives of Congress, especially as concerns its exclusive right to declare war, and the "constitutional balance in the making of foreign commitments." The report of the committee leaves no doubt about the constitutional consequences which it expects from the adoption of Resolution 85:

> "The resolution is perhaps best understood as an invitation to the executive to reconsider its excesses, and to the legislature to reconsider its omissions, in the making of foreign policy, and, in the light of such reconsideration, to bring their foreign policy practices back into compliance

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with that division of responsibilities envisioned by the Constitution and sanctioned by over a century of usage.

"The committee is strongly of the view that a restoration of the division of war powers specified by the Constitution and generally adhered to during more than a century of national experience is both compatible with modern conditions and essential to constitutional government."

In trying to assess the import of Resolution 85, one must not lose sight of the basic fact that the real issue between the Foreign Relations Committee and the executive branch does not concern the niceties of constitutional arrangements but the substance of foreign policy. It is hardly open to doubt that without the sustained shock of the Vietnam war the committee would not have been so deeply concerned with congressional prerogatives and that Senator Fulbright would not have changed his view, expressed in 1957 in the debate on the Middle East resolution, that the President had the inherent power as Commander-in-Chief to use the Armed Forces to defend the vital interests of the country. In other words, had the executive branch embarked unilaterally upon a foreign policy with which the committee had been in agreement, it would hardly have felt it necessary to reassert its prerogatives vis-à-vis the executive. I remember how I used to implore a succession of Presidents to assert their constitutional powers against Congress as long as I disagreed with the foreign policies to which Congress appeared to be committed. Yet when I had given up on the potential for change of the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policies, I urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to establish itself as a kind of counter-Department of State. And from 1965 onwards, I would have welcomed the influence that Congress, the Senate or, for that matter, any other agency of government could have exerted in order to change the course of American foreign policy.

What Resolution 85 is really trying to tell the country in this: we don't want to get involved in another war through Presidential manipulation, hence the President must ask for our "affirmative action" before he "commits" the country. Yet this is exactly what President Johnson asked for when in August 1964 he submitted the Tonkin Gulf Resolution to the Senate, and that is exactly what he got when the Senate passed it with two votes dissenting! Presidential manipulation succeeded in that instance not because constitutional intent and practice were not observed but because the Senate submitted to the President's will as a matter of patriotic duty. The Senate could have, if it had wanted to, pitted its own will against the President's, and it could have, if it had had a mind to, subjected the facts on which the President based his request to independent scrutiny. The Senate did neither, not because it could not have done it but because it did not care to do it. That failure of will points at the very heart of the issue raised by Resolution 85. It is the issue of the existential relations between the executive and the legislature in the conduct of foreign policy.

These relations give the decisive advantage to the executive branch. The conduct of foreign policy consists of a number of actions which some individuals, acting as the legal representatives of a nation, perform vis-à-vis other individuals representing their nations. These individuals inevitably belong to the executive branch of the government. For the executive is the only agency of the government that can act vis-à-vis other nations. The legislature can delay, modify, emasculate, and even prevent executive action, but it cannot act itself. It cannot substitute a foreign policy of its own for the executive's foreign policy of which it disapproves. The executive, through this monopoly of action, is able to determine the perimeter within which the legislature can try to influence the foreign policy of the nation, that is, the actions of the executive. Thus the executive, by dint of the very nature of foreign policy, has a natural eminence in the conduct of foreign policy from which constitutional arrangements and political practices can detract, but which they cannot obliterate. As Jefferson put it, "The transaction of business with foreign nations is executive altogether."

This existential relationship between the executive and the legislature is fully supported by the American constitutional arrangements and practices. The President's powers in the conduct of foreign policy, according to the Supreme Court, are "delicate, plenary, and exclusive." Short of the expenditure of money, the binding conclusion of treaties, and the declaration of war, the President can well nigh do as he pleases in formulating and executing foreign policies. He can without reference to any other agency of government make a public declaration of policy, such as the Monroe or Truman Doctrines. He can refuse to recognize a foreign government or can recognize it, as successive Presidents did with respect to the government of the Soviet Union. He can give advice, make promises, enter into informal commitments as he sees fit. He can send the Armed Forces of the United States anywhere in the world and can commit them to hostile acts short of war. In sum, he can narrow the freedom of choice which constitutionally lies with Congress to such an extent as to eliminate it practically alto-

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gether. If, for instance, the President had wanted to reply with armed force to the Berlin crisis of 1948, or to the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, he could have done so on his own responsibility and might thus have committed Congress to a declaration of war regardless of the latter's preferences with regard to the initial policy that would have made war inevitable. The course of American policy toward Germany and Japan during the initial phase of the Second World War was determined primarily by Presidential action, and it was left to Congress to ratify the consummation of that course. On the other hand, if Congress had failed to pass the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, a President determined to bomb North Vietnam would have found another pretext to do so without asking for congressional concurrence.

Thus Resolution 85 is not an appropriate instrument for securing congressional participation in the determination of American foreign policy. Leaving aside its technical weakness – what does "national commitment" mean: a legal undertaking or the actual commitment of American human and material resources or both? – the resolution cannot prevent unilateral action by the President if a national crisis appears to him to require such action. It can only compel him to choose tactics which will either command congressional support or bypass a hostile Congress.

The erosion of the treaty power of the Senate is a case in point. The Constitution requires treaties to be ratified with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senate. Thus one-third of the members of the Senate plus one have the veto power over the foreign policies of the President insofar as they have taken the form of international treaties. The Senate has indeed made ample use of that power, the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles being the outstanding example. "A treaty entering the Senate," wrote Secretary of State Hay, summing up his bitter experience, "is like a bull going into the arena. No one can say just how and when the final blow will fall. But one thing is certain – it will never leave the arena alive." In response to this risk, a succession of Presidents have evaded this constitutional requirement by substituting for treaties executive agreements, which do not require the concurrence of the Senate. Thus in 1939, 10 treaties were concluded by the United States as over against 26 executive agreements. The corresponding figures for the following years are eloquent: 1940: 12-20, 1941: 15-39, 1942: 6-52, 1943: 4-71, 1944: 1-74, 1945: 6-54; then, 1963: 9-248, 1964: 13-231, 1965: 5-197, 1966: 10-242, 1967: 10-218, 1968: 57-226.

The report of the committee assumes that this ascendancy of the President over Congress in the conduct of foreign policy is a corruption of sound constitutional practices only recently abandoned. In truth, as we have seen, this ascendancy and the resulting conflicts with Congress are built into the constitutional fabric and have been confirmed by constitutional practice. It was George Washington who went in person to the Senate to submit a treaty for its advice and consent and was so badly treated that he stomped out declaring that he would be damned if he ever returned. And it was the late Professor Corwin who said that the Constitution "is an invitation to struggle for the privilege of directing American foreign policy." What is new is not the ascendancy of the President but the frequency with which that ascendancy manifests itself now when American foreign policy requires continuous – rather than, as in times past, sporadic – actions. New is also the complacency with which Congress has accepted its subordinate role.

Resolution 85 is a reaction against this state of affairs. However, while it is incapable of redressing a balance that has never existed between the President and Congress in the conduct of foreign policy, it can still, if it is correctly understood, become a potent political weapon in the struggle for the determination of American foreign policy. For the real issue between the President and Congress is not constitutional but political. The congressional subservience to the Presidential will which the committee deplores with respect to foreign policy has been as flagrant in the field of military policy, where the constitutional distribution of powers clearly favors Congress. Resolution 85, if passed by the Senate, would appear to manifest the Senate's determination to pit its own will against that of the President when it comes to the conduct of American foreign policy, as the revolt of the Senate against the ABM and its scrutiny of military policies, expenditures, and requests appear to mark the beginning of reassertion of Congress' constitutional responsibilities in the military sphere.

The Senate, by thus manifesting a will of its own, cannot impinge upon the President's existential ascendancy in the conduct of foreign policy. But it can restore its historic function as an independent political factor among others which a wise President will take into account. Resolution 85 does not impose a constitutional obligation upon the President to yield to the will of Congress. The President can still do as he pleases without violating the Constitution, but he now takes a clearly defined political risk. Correctly understood, action or non-action under the resolution will either strengthen the President's political hand or serve as a political storm-warning, indicating lack of popular support for the President's policies. What happened to President Johnson's policies in Vietnam slowly and in an inchoate fashion, its repudiation at the hands of the people and their representatives in Congress, could then be achieved more quickly and pointedly through congressional action or lack of it. Thus Resolution 85 provides a political weapon for Congress but imposes no constitutional obligation upon the President.

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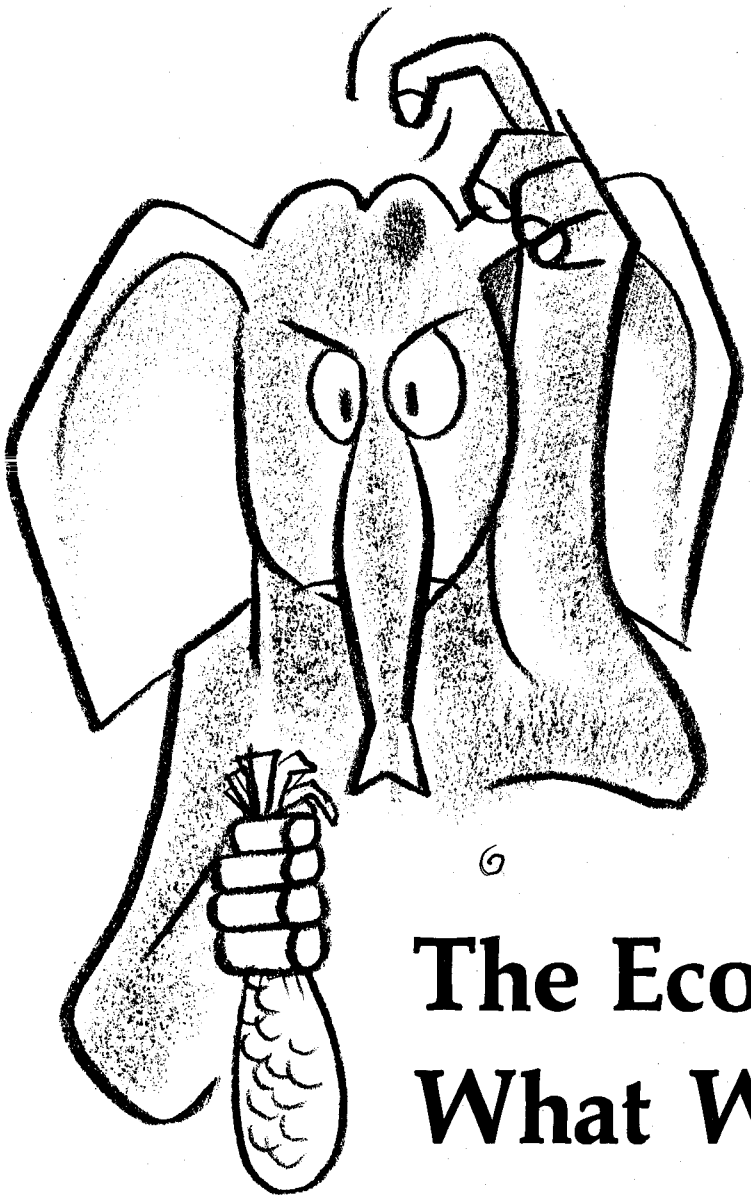

A New Republic Special Report

The Economy — What Will Nixon Do?

by George L. Perry

Mr. Nixon took over after a record eight years of uninterrupted economic expansion that brought a steady and dramatic reduction in unemployment and the most outstanding surge in real output and living standards in our recent history.

Nonetheless, there was plenty of unfinished business on the economic agenda when Lyndon Johnson left the White House. Escalation in Vietnam had touched off inflationary pressures that grew as the unemployment rate declined in 1968. Even at average unemployment rates below 3½ percent, some parts of the labor force, most dramatically nonwhite teenagers, suffered inordinately high unemployment; and 22 million people lived with incomes below the official poverty level. In the face of a weak will to raise taxes and a costly war, important social programs were underfunded and ineffective. Many new program initiatives remained on the shelf. Satisfactory changes in the international monetary system had yet to be made; balance of payments deficits were held in check only by objectionable restrictive measures. And despite eight years of spadework in the Treasury, comprehensive tax reform still had not been achieved. Mr. Nixon's economic performance should be measured by how well he gets at this unfinished business without giving up past gains.

Mr. Nixon has stilled the worst fears of those who dreaded a return to Republican economics. He started by making largely sound appointments to the key economic posts. Paul McCracken's selection as Chair-

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man of the Council of Economic Advisers puts a well regarded expert where one is most needed. McCracken's colleagues, Herb Stein and Hendrik Houthakker, are also skilled academic types. Compared with their recent predecessors, they are less inclined to intervene in markets, and they assign a more prominent role to monetary as against fiscal policy for stabilizing the economy. But they are not doctrinaire conservatives. Although he might move more cautiously than we would like, it is doubtful that McCracken will give up tax and expenditure policies for stabilization when he really needs them, or urge removal of controls on capital outflows to foreign countries before the balance of payments is more favorable. Special White House Counsellor Arthur Burns argued actively but in vain for expansionary fiscal actions during the 1958 recession and again in 1960 when the start of another recession hurt Mr. Nixon's bid for the Presidency. But on social priorities he is highly conservative and economy-minded. Already he is reported to have fought against expending food relief, against the Job Corps, against the scheduled expansion of the Model Cities program and against expensive changes in present income-support programs for the poor. Urban Affairs Assistant Daniel Moynihan is an imaginative liberal counterweight to Burns in the White House. He has been critical of the War on Poverty but will champion new approaches to help the poor and the cities and will try to get Mr. Nixon to spend needed money on them. The new Treasury team of David Kennedy, Charls Walker and Paul Volcker along with Budget Director Robert Mayo, represent the biggest step forward in economic expertise and judgment from their counterparts under Eisenhower. We have already gotten some good tax reform proposals from the new Treasury, which is likely to continue seeking international monetary cooperation and reform in much the same way as its predecessors in the Johnson Administration, with possibly somewhat more success. Like the Council, they want to ease present controls on overseas investment, but will go slowly until the balance of payments permits. George Schulz, the new Labor Secretary, is a widely-respected labor economist who can be expected to fight hard against any high unemployment policies and in favor of strong measures to combat structural causes of unemployment and inflation. He does not believe the government should interfere with wage bargaining.

For the immediate future, the President has set some questionable priorities. He has chosen to halve the surtax next January and hopes to eliminate it six months later. He could have gotten the same overall economic impact by keeping the surtax and using the budget room to expand social programs. Or he could have kept the surtax and present expenditure plans and chosen a monetary policy with lower interest rates. Either alternative, but especially the first, would be better.

In revising the fiscal 1970 budget, the President did not slash the Johnson social programs ruthlessly. But his commitment to large future defense budgets, his eager removal of the surtax, and the promise of an early start on revenue sharing preempt tens of billions of future budget room from possible use for social programs. Only his repeal of the investment credit goes in the other direction. On this evidence, we should expect only modest and inexpensive initiatives on problems that require bold and expensive measures for their solution.

How Much Expansion?

The issue on which the President's plans are clearest is his near-term stabilization objective – the rate of economic expansion he is trying to achieve over the next year or so. This is reflected in his overall budget totals and tax proposals and in the direction he has pushed monetary policy.

Budget spending rises only slowly in fiscal 1970, in line with the Administration's determination to slow the growth of GNP in order to curb inflation. Total outlays in the unified budget are $192.9 billion, only $8 billion higher than fiscal 1969 and $4 billion lower than in the original Johnson submission last January. After rising from a $25.2-billion deficit in fiscal 1968 to a $1.2-billion surplus in fiscal 1969, the unified budget is scheduled to become more restrictive, moving to a $5.8-billion surplus in fiscal 1970. What has gone almost unnoticed is that most of this last swing to surplus has already occurred, although a little of its restrictive effect in the economy, which lags behind changes in the budget totals, will still be felt.

Under the impact of earlier legislation, the budget moved sharply toward restraint in the first half of this year. On January 1, Social Security taxes were raised by $3 billion a year with no offsetting jump in benefit payments. As a result of unusual underpayments in 1968 when the surtax on individuals was made retroactive to April 1, extra final settlements on 1968 income-tax liabilities were expected at an annual rate of $3 billion during the first half of this year. Meanwhile, government expenditures have been rising at less than half the pace of the normal automatic revenue growth during the period. Over the next twelve months, while expenditure growth will still fall short of normal revenue growth, proposed tax changes will make up the difference. Revenues will return to normal levels after the extra final settlements of the first half. If Social Security benefits were to be raised, payroll taxes would

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almost surely be raised by as much, although it seems doubtful that Mr. Nixon will get any Social Security bill past House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills this year. Repealing the investment credit will add a little to the budget surplus, but any liberalization of depreciation rules for tax purposes, which has been rumored, would offset some of this revenue gain. Tax reform is likely to come as a package of offsetting revenue losses and gains. This leaves Mr. Nixon's proposed cut in the surtax to 5 percent next January, which would cost $5- to $6-billion a year.

It is useless to put too fine a point on these projections. Different kinds of expenditures and receipts have somewhat different impacts on total demand for the same dollar impact on the surplus. Besides, even with an expenditure ceiling, there are still enough unknowns in Mr. Nixon's plans, not to mention congressional response to alter year-away budget numbers noticeably. Nevertheless, accepting the Nixon objectives of a slower economy and somewhat higher unemployment in order to slow down inflation, how appropriate is the fiscal policy just outlined? And why has the gross national product continued to grow rapidly since last summer when the fiscal program really did start to swing in a restrictive direction? Let's look at the second question first.

One reason is that homebuilding has continued above most expectations. Experts knew the underlying demand for new housing was strong, but expected tight mortgage markets to moderate the pace of activity this fall and winter. Instead, the number of new housing starts stayed high through the early fall, and during the past six months averaged an annual rate of 1.65 million units – more starts than in any year except 1950.

After many years in which housing shortages were confined to a few parts of the country, now it's almost everywhere. Vacancy rates, the best available indicator, are at their lowest levels in a decade. And while the rate of new family formation was small ten years ago, today the already tight housing market is strained by the postwar baby boom. In 1968, the marriage rate was up twice as fast as in the previous five years. On top of all this, we are near something like a national consensus on the need for improving our low-income housing, an effort that will compete with other housing demands in the years ahead.

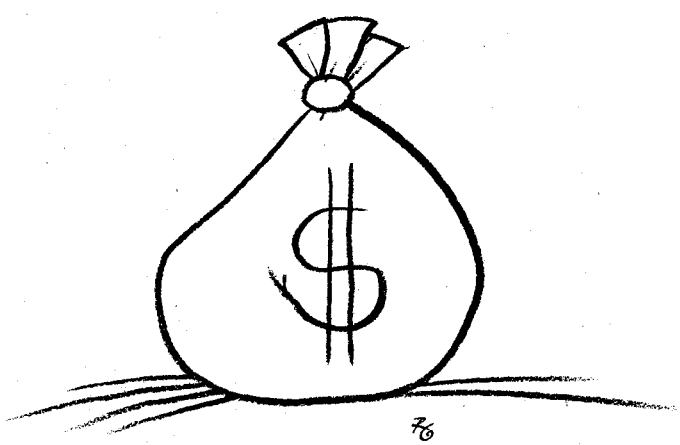
For a variety of reasons, the residential construction industry is better insulated against tight money than it was in 1966, when sharply rising interest rates sent homebuilding into a real depression. But if the Federal Reserve is to have its way in cooling the economy, it may still end up bringing housing starts down sharply from last winter's levels. At a time when the need for new housing is so insistent, this would put more upward pressure on fast-rising rents, and store up demands for a bigger construction surge in the future.

Another cause of fast GNP growth has been the large and unexpected surge in investment demand by business. After curbing their capital spending for two years in a retrenchment that found dollar outlays by manufacturers in mid-1968 still below mid-1966 levels, manufacturers started to expand their spending for new plant and equipment late last year – just when restrictive government policies were starting to work on other final demands. And capital spending outside manufacturing is speeding up as well. Government surveys in March revealed that American businessmen were planning a 14 percent increase in plant and equipment outlays for 1969.

Relying on Tight Money

Largely as a result of this investment boom, economic forecasts have been marked up repeatedly since last summer. Even the $60-billion increase in GNP for 1969 forecast in the January Budget and Economic Report, and in the testimony of Federal Reserve Chairman Martin, is now widely regarded as too small. These developments helped persuade Mr. Nixon to request the extension of the surtax this July and to ask for repeal of the investment credit, and presumably strengthened his resolve to squeeze harder on the budget for fiscal 1970. Yet with the surtax dropping to five percent next January he will leave the overall impact of fiscal policy from here on just about where Mr. Johnson left it in January when the boom did not look as strong. The burden of achieving additional restraint on the economy has thus fallen on monetary policy. With the urging of the Administration, the Federal Reserve seems determined to keep money very hard to get.

How should we rate such a policy mix? It is hardly the time to ask for perfection. But Mr. Nixon places the wrong priorities on which demands get curtailed. The surtax is being reduced while the budget is getting cut. Furthermore, relying so heavily on tight money at this time is likely to squeeze small business and produce a decline in homebuilding before the year is over; it is likely also to have a more gradual and less pronounced restraining effect on state and local out-



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lays, business investment spending and other credit-dependent sources of demand, in that order. There is also some risk of a financial crisis such as occurred in 1966, although the Federal Reserve will try hard to protect against this and would probably ease up on its restrictive policy if the risk became appreciable.

The impact of the Nixon package on state and local government spending would be less dramatic, but even more out of line with sensible national priorities. Particularly in time of inflation, their budgets are under pressure from the disparity between the rising cost of the services they provide and the relatively insensitive yield of their tax base. In 1968, state and local governments issued $16.6 billion of securities to help finance their activities, nearly half again as much as they issued in 1966. Now, sharply rising interest rates are aggravating their problems. This year, in order to expand business loans in the face of the Federal Reserve's tighter money policy, banks have been unloading municipal bonds. This spring, interest rates on high-grade municipals rose to a level one-third higher than the average for 1967, the highest interest rates in history for these tax-exempt securities.

Many commodities are limited on the interest rate they can pay. These restrictions may be decidedly uneconomic, but they exist, and some planned expenditures will have to be curtailed. Already there has been evidence of postponements and cancellations, although no systematic data are available. If bond rates go higher, these postponements and cancellations can be expected to multiply. Even without legal restrictions, high bond rates deter some borrowers and reduce what can be spent on projects by adding to the cost of servicing debt when tax sources are limited. State and local government spending will be up strongly again, as it is every year. Annual increases have averaged nine percent over the past decade, slightly more in recent years. But continued tight money will be cutting into important programs all the same.

Business investment spending will be harder to contain through a broad monetary squeeze for several reasons. Inflationary expectations have apparently taken sufficient hold, whether justifiably or not, to offset the effect of higher interest rates on profitability calculations. Banks favor business loans over other investments when money gets tight. And firms themselves can economize on the amount of outside credit they need to finance their capital outlays and other expenditures. A monetary policy that promised substantially lower interest rates in the near future might have a stronger impact by offering a large incentive to postpone borrowing and making it unattractive for banks to finance loans by selling securities that promised to rise in price soon. But in contrast to such a policy, oriented to sharp changes in interest rates, the gradual, if persistent, monetary squeeze that is being conducted promises to produce only a gradual slowing of the investment spending by business.

Some fiscal measures can affect business investment demand more directly. Repealing the investment credit was the right kind of step for the President to take, but the effect on capital outlays will probably be gradual. By contrast, suspending the credit would have had a more immediate effect on the spending plans of business, as it did in 1966, since simply by waiting for restoration of the credit, firms would realize a sizable saving. With repeal, any order worth placing at all is worth placing now. As with the monetary policy that promises lower interest rates soon, suspension is a powerful stabilizing tool because it offers strong incentives to postpone. But it is characteristic of this Administration to avoid swift stabilization measures in favor of gradual ones. In the case of the credit, it is further true that repeal was sought for its long-run effects on investment, which should be quite large – a question of priorities and future budget room that I shall take up below – as well as for slowing investment spending as part of present stabilization policy, where its effect may only be gradual.

What is hardest to justify in the President's fiscal-monetary package is his treatment of the surtax. The federal budget is being reduced to hold back the growth in total demand. A restrictive monetary policy is being urged by the White House and its economists. Yet Mr. Nixon calls for halving of the surtax next January (and suggests its complete elimination half a year after that). Not only does this presuppose a rather keen ability to forecast how the restrictive measures will take hold, but it sets unfortunate priorities.

The surtax was designed to take a little out of middle- and upper-class consumption demand. Removing it will add a little to the consumption expenditures of these groups. Mr. Nixon could have got the same economic results with higher budget expenditures. Or, keeping his budget the same, he could have left more room for easing monetary policy next year with a large part of the demand freed by this step coming in new housing. As a bonus, avoiding a foreordained drop in the surtax would have kept more options open for stabilization purposes. It is a minority forecast at the moment, but next winter could find Mr. Nixon feeding inflation with this spring's tax reductions, while fighting it with more tight money and restrictive budget plans for fiscal 1971. On the grounds of either national priorities or economic stabilization, we should not today be legislating the removal of the surtax.

The Risks of Recession

We can also ask what risks of recession there are in present policies. The Administration apparently expects about a two percent real growth over the next year with unemployment rising to a little above four percent by next spring. Some forecasters expect a weaker expansion than this, with unemployment rising

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to 4½ percent or higher a year from now. If real growth stopped altogether over the next year, unemployment could reach five percent and we could properly describe that as a recession. But this is highly unlikely and, I believe, could only happen as a result of an inexcusably tight monetary policy that persisted in the face of many warning signals we would receive in coming months.

Looking further ahead, the greatest recession risk would appear to lie in today's investment boom. If plant and equipment spending keeps going up, industry will be adding to capacity at a substantially faster rate than the four-to-five percent yearly growth we can expect in demand for industrial output. Eventually, a drop in capital outlays to levels more in keeping with the real needs for new capacity could be expected. Such a slump in investment, coming in 1970 or 1971, could pose a serious recession threat, especially if war spending was heading down at the same time.

Anticipating this, policy should retain whatever flexability it can. Here there is some risk in escalating interest rates. Other nations follow our rates up to protect their balance of payments against the flow of capital from their countries. If the time comes when we want sharply lower interest rates to help fight off a recession, we may find ourselves inhibited for the same reason. Mr. Nixon gave up an important instrument for flexibility when he asked for repeal rather than suspension of the investment credit. Suspension would have assured control of the investment boom now; then the credit could have been reinstated when a stimulus was needed. He did the same when he asked for reduction of the surtax next January. If it proves useful by then to help fight off a slowdown, it will have been a good forecast. But it could have been done on short notice as well.

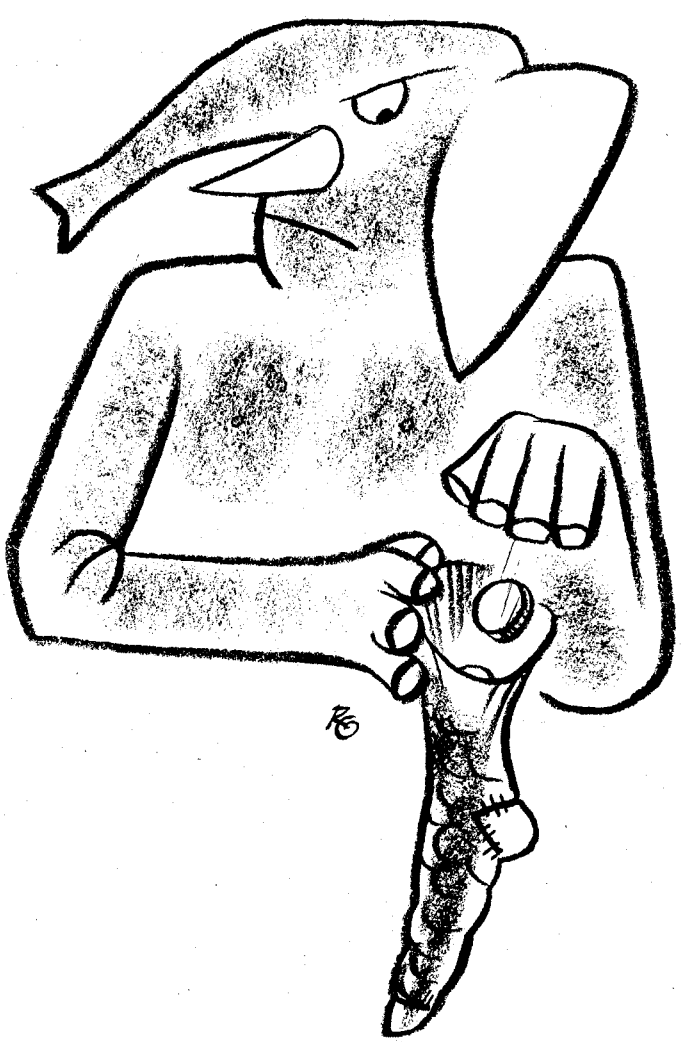
In the end, what will prove most important when a recession threat develops is not any particular precaution that can be taken today, but how activist and flexible Mr. Nixon and his advisers prove to be when the time comes. If one believes it, the biggest recession threat lies in the "stable policy" rhetoric of the Administration economists. They seem to despair of successfully adjusting policy to help offset instabilities that arise in the economy. When the chips are down, Arthur Burns and Paul McCracken are not likely to sit idle and hope a constant growth in the money supply avoids an impending recession. But they may move slower and less decisively than their recent predecessors would have. At least they have not publicly told us otherwise.

For the present, the President and his economists have stressed that inflation can only end gradually, which is reassuring. It commits them to no unreasonable goals. By next spring, if their present plans to slow the economy are working, inflation should have dropped to less than a 3½ percent rate. This will be progress and should buy them more time. Where they go from there is the critical long-run question.

A decade ago, before economic advisers Heller, Gordon, and Tobin made such a fuss over it and persuaded John Kennedy to accept the four percent interim unemployment target, there was no large, active constituency for lower unemployment rates. Today there is. The pressure comes not only from the growing political power of those who bear the brunt of unemployment, but from the more sophisticated members of the business community who recognize that low unemployment and high profits go together. But so long as low unemployment rates are accompanied by inflation, some difficult policy choices have to be made.

Economists cannot blame this state of affairs on politicians with a deaf ear, as they could and did blame them for the long period of stagnation before 1964. The fact is that economists suffer a considerable poverty of ideas on reconciling price stability and low unemployment, and disagree about even the nature of the problem. To whom should the President listen?

The conservatives stress their view that inflation, if unchecked, will inevitably accelerate, which is intolerable. Try to sustain too low an unemployment rate and, as people adjust their price expectations, today's four percent inflation will become eight percent tomorrow



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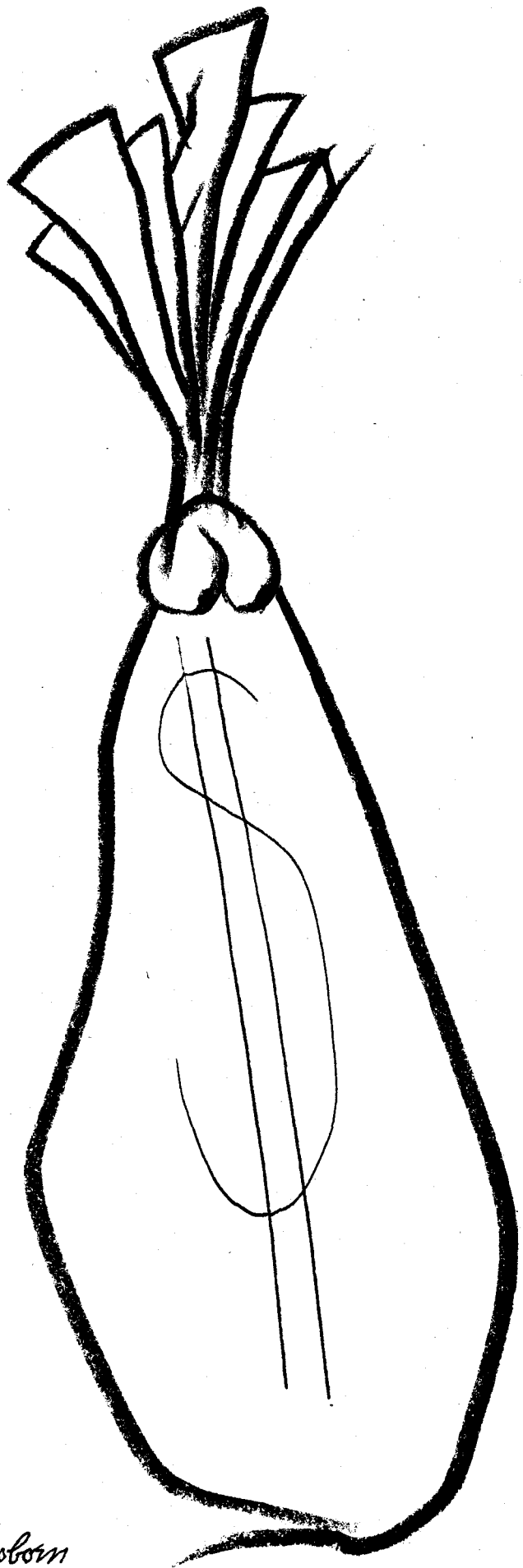

and the US soon will have joined the Brazilians. Chicago's Milton Friedman raises the ghosts of hyperinflations of post-Czarist Russia or Germany after World War I. He would stop inflation through slow monetary growth, letting unemployment seek its "natural" level. A larger number of economists are unconvinced that four percent inflation must inevitably become eight percent if low unemployment is maintained. But some of them would not risk the experiment of holding unemployment low to see what happens to prices. And most argue that four percent inflation is intolerable anyhow in view of the actual constraints on our policies that arise from our need to stay competitive in world trade and from the inequities such an inflation rate would bring to many citizens with fixed incomes. Then, a handful of optimistic liberals think we could hold present inflation and unemployment rates, do something to compensate the losers, and relieve the constraint of international pressure by changing the system. An imaginative few even see inflation slowing gradually if low unemployment is maintained: since the less skilled gain jobs in such a situation, they receive invaluable on-the-job training, raising their productivity and gradually lowering the cost of keeping them on the job.

If it were true that higher total demand translated itself mainly into more jobs and real output up to a point, and beyond that point mainly into higher prices and little real gain, the choice of where to aim policy would be easy. But the facts will not support this view.

Inflation became rapid by American standards during 1966 when unemployment dropped to an average of 3.8 percent and consumer prices rose 3.3 percent. By this winter, when unemployment fell to 3.3 percent, consumer prices were rising at more than a 4 percent rate. Yet during the past 3 years, total nonfarm employment rose by $5\frac{1}{2}$ million. It would have grown only $3\frac{1}{3}$ million or 3/5 as much under a policy that held the unemployment rate constant. There would have been some inflation – perhaps a 3 percent rate – even with 3.8 percent unemployment. So by pushing to this winter's 3.3 percent jobless rate, we have added a point or two to the rate of inflation but have gained over 2 million jobs and the output they produce.

Nor does the argument that the hard-core unemployed fail to benefit in such a labor market hold up very well. Teenage employment remains a problem: nonwhite teenagers today suffer a 22 percent unemployment rate, little changed from 2 years ago. Apparently brisk general demands for labor make no headway in this category and only intensive job and education programs can help. But total nonwhite employment has increased by 545,000 since the first quarter of 1966 and by 227,000 during the past year alone, reducing the unemployment rate for nonwhites from 7.1 percent in the first quarter of 1966 to 6.8 percent the first quarter of 1968 and to 5.9 percent

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the first quarter of this year. Unemployment among adult male blacks is now down to four percent. Progress on long-term unemployment is even more impressive. The number of workers unemployed 15 weeks or longer has fallen from an average of 755,000 in 1965 to an average of only 339,000 in the first quarter of 1969.

In brief, there have been real gains in the recent inflationary period. Yet the inflation argument is inevitably of the "on the other hand" variety. The nearly 12 percent rise in consumer prices over the past three years really has hurt a lot of people directly, including poor people, although we have much less evidence about who gets hurt than we should. Sharp cost increases also hit state and local government budgets hard. Over the past three years, price increases for the goods and services they buy have risen 12.5 percent, a third faster than over the 3 previous years. In practice, lower levels of government find it very difficult to compensate for such inflation, for most taxpayers do not draw nice distinctions between real and inflationary increases when their tax bills go up. Moreover, it inevitably leads to a squeeze on federal public expenditures since one "obvious" way to combat inflation is to cut government spending.

Finally, the present position of the dollar in the international monetary system ultimately precludes a continuing inflation here at recent rates, unless our European trading partners oblige us by inflating at a similar rate. Either inflation here must slow, or present monetary arrangements must go. Robert Triffin recently outlined the need for revamping the international monetary system in this journal ("Where Are We Heading?" Dec. 14, 1968) and glacier-like progress is being made in international negotiations. If the US were prepared to tolerate present inflation rates, we could assert our ultimately overpowering economic might and make the rest of the world adjust its system to the reality of continuing modest inflation here. Any new arrangements are likely to offer greater flexibility in relative currency prices and so move a little in this direction. But it would be wholly unrealistic to count on a system that would free Mr. Nixon from international pressures to curb inflation.

Putting Employment First

Considering all of this, if low unemployment is going to bring with it a noticeable rate of inflation, how will the Administration react?

In its early utterances, its reaction has been to disagree with the question. The top priority is assigned to slowing, then eliminating inflation. Yet Mr. Nixon has reportedly assured George Meany there would be no rise in unemployment. His public statements have been in the same vein, if slightly more guarded. His economic advisers have been still more circumspect, warning of a modest increase in unemployment from this winter's 3.3 percent low and outlining their aim for a gradual but persistent slowdown in GNP growth as the means for gradually slowing inflation without substantially raising unemployment. Maintaining such a slowdown for an extended period without falling into recession may prove to be tricky.

Faced with this dilemma, the Democrats might have tried to reconcile full employment with price stability by more activist intervention in the wage-price area. During the campaign, Vice President Humphrey's inflation task force, chaired by Harvard's Otto Eckstein, outlined a many-front attack on inflation that included new guidepost-type proposals with varying degrees of authority; attention to individual problems such as prices for medical services, construction and in the regulated industries; strengthening competition through vigorous pursuit of free trade and anti-trust enforcement; and intensifying the government's efforts in training, education, and other manpower and labor market programs.

The old wage-price guideposts seem to have helped in manufacturing and some other concentrated sectors until 1966, when, in the absence of fiscal and monetary restraint, widespread price increases and rapid wage advances elsewhere in the economy made them unworkable. For the same reason, it would be difficult to start using them again without first slowing the now-widespread inflation by other means. Even then, if left in fairly weak form, their influence would be confined to the larger settlements and major, concentrated industries. While, if strengthened and extended, they might turn into a system of mandatory controls which would doubtless pose worse problems than inflation itself. Thus, alone, guideposts are no real solution to the inflation-unemployment dilemma. But as a marginal weapon, some effort in the old spirit of guideposts, seeking a start at cooperation from big labor and big business, might at least remind everyone concerned that the government was not declaring an open season for wage and price increases.

In any case, the Republicans have come out squarely against renewal of guideposts. And they have as yet offered no other programs directly attacking price and wage problems. They successfully brought down lumber prices earlier this year by freeing government supplies, but this was an isolated event. Unless Mr. Nixon surprises us, they will hope to combine fairly low unemployment and reasonably stable prices without taking any steps that smack of government interference in the market. If the conflict between price stability and employment proves more stubborn than they hope, a crucial test of Mr. Nixon's economics will come when this becomes apparent and a choice has to be made. If he recognizes that high employment is the more fundamental goal and adjusts his other policies accordingly, he will have made the right one.

Sensible changes in the minimum wage law would

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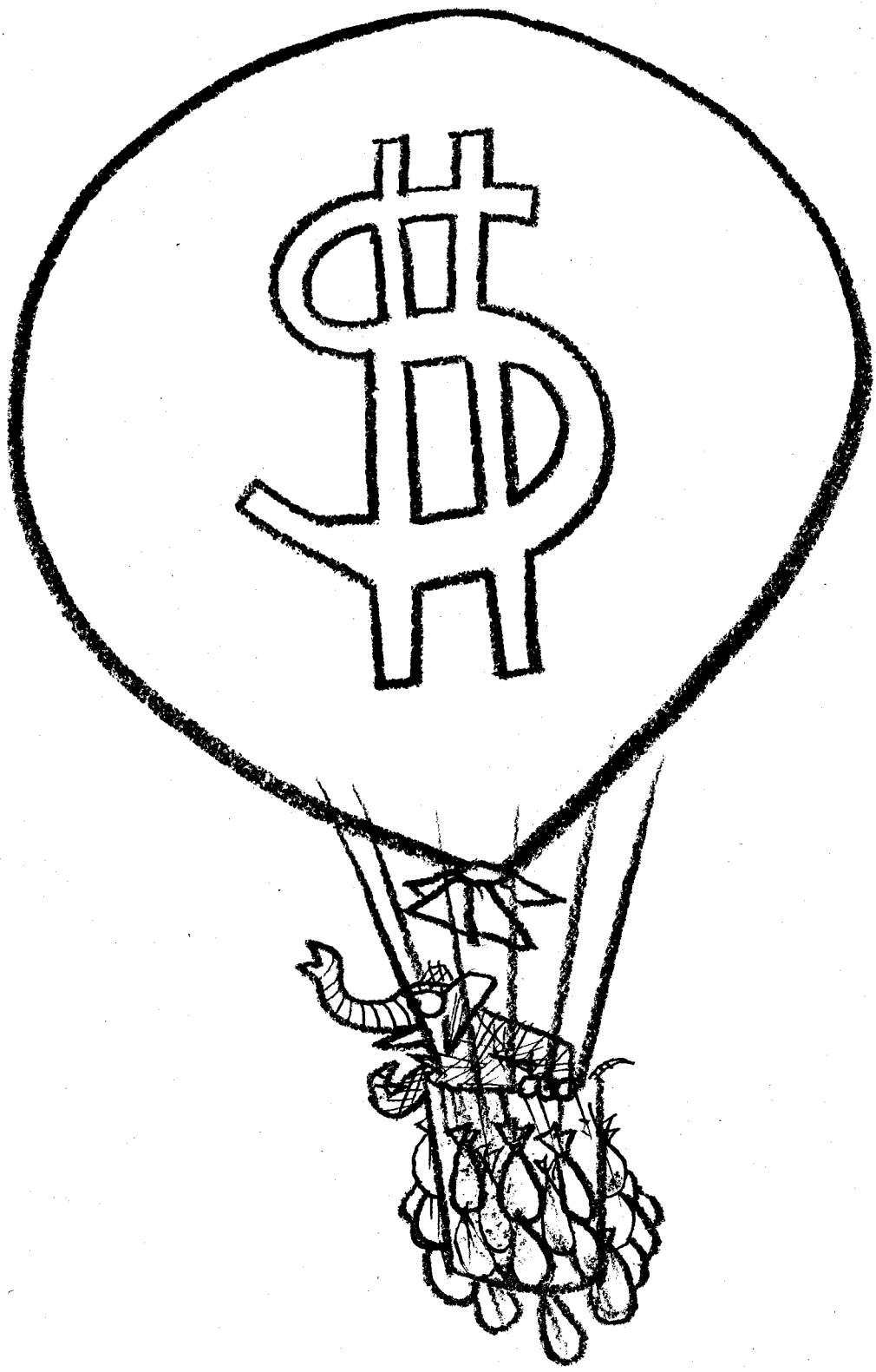

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have useful effects on prices and employment. Increases in the level or coverage of the minimum wage raise prices. And particularly for young, unskilled workers, a high minimum wage becomes a barrier to employment. Thus, it raises the incomes of some but at the cost of keeping others out of work altogether. When other income maintenance programs were unavailable, the minimum-wage law had more justification. But today we can advance other programs for augmenting the incomes of low wage workers that avoid these undesirable effects. The simplest is the negative income tax to which I shall return.

However actually structured and administered, programs which in essence make government the employer of last resort should be an essential part of the fight against inflation. Private industry should be enlisted where feasible. Today, through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program, cooperating business firms are helping disadvantaged workers find employment. By the end of 1968, JOBS contracts had been issued to some 800 employers involved actively in the program. They were being reimbursed an average of $3,000 per trainee. The program is working, but the present scale is modest. In fiscal 1970 outlays are scheduled to double to around $250 million, bringing 160,000 workers into the program if all goes well. Mr. Nixon favors this approach and will try to expand it. But he must be prepared to support more direct government involvement as well. The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) today provides government employment assistance to workers in geographic areas suffering high levels of unemployment. The Work Incentive Program (WIN) tries to reduce dependency on public assistance by providing job training to welfare recipients. These public programs help direct workers to JOBS employers and directly train individuals whom the JOBS program does not reach.

Other government programs are aimed exclusively at training low-skill workers. Altogether, institutional training programs run by the government, including the Job Corps which Mr. Nixon has criticized, are serving an estimated 345,000 individuals this fiscal year at a cost of $680 million. These do not provide jobs. But hopefully they will teach skills and work habits that will eventually lead to private employment.

Whatever these employment and training programs can do under the best of conditions, they will never create jobs in a weak labor market. The best training programs will appear failures if high unemployment keeps their graduates from finding jobs. And subsidies to provide private employment may prove impotent if employers are not urgently seeking workers, and will be socially untenable if unsubsidized workers are being laid off. The JOBS program is off to a great start; but at a time when employers have been scrambling for workers.

Even a 4 percent unemployment rate may undermine these programs; and a 4 1/2 percent rate surely would. If Mr. Nixon keeps unemployment that high in his fight against inflation, he will have to turn increasingly to direct government employment programs or watch the hard-core problem worsen. Labor Secretary Schulz is keenly aware of this problem. Mr. Nixon to date shows no recognition of it.

Though we have only a crude understanding of who really gets hurt by inflation, we have much less trouble identifying who gets hurt when unemployment rises. Yet we are prepared to adopt a national economic policy aimed at raising unemployment in the short run and very likely destined to hold it at a higher plateau in the future without taking any special pains about those who will lose out. And many who only recently got their first decent jobs are about to lose them. We should be providing them jobs in government programs, or at least training. But at a minimum, and hopefully only temporarily, we should do something about the income they will lose. Benefits under the existing system of unemployment compensation are geared to earnings and the duration of previous employment and do not cover all occupations. The system does little or nothing for the many marginal workers, mostly young people, who will be hit earliest in any softening of the economy. And, of course, it does nothing for those who never get their first job as a result of a weakening demand for labor. This leaves welfare and the woefully undersized job programs now sponsored by the government. Much as the need to curb inflation may require it, it seems inexcusable, not to say dangerous in today's society, to start on the road to higher unemployment without expanding what we do for those left jobless by the private market.

Over the next few years, a rapidly growing and increasingly productive labor force will enlarge our productive potential by an estimated 4 1/4 percent each year. Allowing for general price increases averaging 2 1/2 to 3 percent a year over this period, this translates to a 7 percent yearly rise in potential GNP, or $60- to $75-billion a year during the rest of Mr. Nixon's term. How much of this huge dollar expansion in the amount we can produce can be diverted to domestic programs will depend mainly on three things: what happens to the war or, more generally, to the whole defense budget; what happens to tax rates; and at what unemployment level we decide to operate the economy.

Defense Spending after Vietnam

Most analysts who have taken a close look conclude the true incremental cost of the war in Vietnam last year was in the neighborhood of $20- to $22-billion. This is neither the figure carried in the budget, which includes some spending that would have gone on even without the war, nor the number to subtract from the present defense costs to estimate the post-Vietnam defense budget. This last figure is going to depend on

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the overall military posture the President takes; whether he is ambitious or prudent in defining our national interest; whether he leads us into a new escalation of cold-war capabilities; and, whatever his position on these issues, how finely he screens the "wish-lists" of the Pentagon and its suppliers for new programs and systems. The dollar costs separating either end of these choices is huge – on the order of $20 billion a year a few years from now, or enough to pay for an ambitious assault on domestic problems. Just the cost of a few specific programs that have been seriously questioned by various experts runs into many billions of dollars.

The great stir thus far has been over the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system. The original $7.8 billion cost estimate for the initial proposal is doubtless low, both because cost estimates have a way of escalating and because the system, once accepted, will very likely be expanded. When the then Sentinel system was first debated, estimates of the cost of full coverage ran to $50 billion. Sticking to the next few years, Mr. Nixon's Safeguard program would cost $2 billion or so in the fiscal 1972 budget.

Only a little less costly, and thus far less conspicuous, are present plans for a new manned bomber, dubbed AMSA in current discussion. Robert McNamara would not spend money on it. Then Clark Clifford ordered a gradual start. Now, while slicing $1.1 billion from fiscal 1970's total defense outlays through cutbacks and stretchouts in most programs, Nixon's Secretary Laird has stepped up the AMSA program. Critics

such as Senator William Proxmire cite eventual costs as high as $12 billion for a full fleet of manned bombers. Other estimates are nearer half that, or not far from the announced cost of Safeguard. A few years from now, AMSA may represent a $1- to $2-billion item in the budget.

A third major program, questioned by experts because it has never been able to demonstrate its effectiveness, is the navy's anti-submarine carrier program. The Laird budget supports larger new expenditures, mainly for aircraft. The critics would cancel these and deactivate the existing carriers at an annual cost saving on the order of $1 billion a year.

Many other less costly or, to my knowledge, less controversial new programs appear in various stages in the Nixon defense budget. There are fighters for the Navy and Air Force, new transport aircraft, a new tank, a new anti-tank missile, new submarines and a range of improvements and additions to our missile capability. All these are inherited from the Johnson budget, and apparently accepted without major change in the Laird revisions. The Navy fighters alone will cost on the same order as Safeguard. The whole bundle of new programs that seem to be on their way, including Safeguard and AMSA, may add $10 billion or more to annual defense budgets a few years hence and at least $5 billion by fiscal 1972.

In addition to the expenditures just cited, pay increases will add $4 billion to the defense budget by fiscal 1972. Price increases in procurement, new construction and other spending delayed by the war will add further, inevitable increases. And war costs themselves seem destined to decline only gradually. For the next couple of years, increases in other defense costs could offset reductions in the war budget as they are next year. In fiscal 1970, expenditures in Southeast Asia are dropping by $3.8 billion while total defense spending, including the pay increase, is rising by almost $1 billion. Secretary Laird seems headed down the high road for defense, and, if he stays there, savings from war's end are not going to be available for domestic programs in the budget.

This leaves the room provided in the budget by economic growth. At present tax rates, 7 percent annual GNP growth would provide an average of $15 billion a year in additional revenues over the next few years. Allowing for the scheduled reduction in some excise taxes and programmed increases in payroll taxes, the increase would be about $16 billion annually. This yearly revenue growth offers a middle projection of how much tax reduction and expenditure increase could be undertaken if GNP were allowed to follow this constant growth path. In two more budget years, by fiscal 1972, we could afford $32 billion of revenue reduction or expenditure increase.

But if this looks large, so are the claims against it. Even without expanding the scope of discretionary

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domestic programs, nondefense spending can be expected to rise by at least $10 billion over the next two years. This allows only for statutory requirements governing some programs, future workload increases, the projected cost of pay and price increases and a minimum catch up on present spending backlogs in a few areas. In addition, expanded Social Security benefits are almost mandatory. The trust fund is already running a large annual surplus. Under present laws, including scheduled payroll tax increases, the surplus will be $7- to $9-billion by fiscal 1972. If Congress acts to reduce this surplus as it always has, perhaps $5 billion of higher benefit payments can be projected by then.

These budget costs still leave some $17 billion of budget room in a fiscal 1972 projection. Mr. Nixon adds perhaps $5 billion to this by repealing the investment credit. But in calling for the elimination of the surtax, he uses up roughly $10 billion. And he has also promised a start on federal revenue sharing with the states and localities in the near future. There are many variants on the original Heller-Pechman plan to redirect federal revenues to lower levels of government, and it is uncertain what form Mr. Nixon's proposal would take. But total state and local spending is now around $100 billion and growing by $10 billion annually. So meaningful sharing programs would have to involve several billion dollars. Added to the other budget claims, this means perhaps $5- to $10-billion dollars is all that is left for other things that need doing. And a modest expansion of existing social programs or their equivalents would use that up.

There is room for some progress, even with these dark assumptions. Revenue sharing itself will help. A small part of any Social Security increase will make a dent on poverty. Beyond this, it looks like agencies will be cutting plans and operating under-funded programs for at least a couple more budget years, while we make little more than token advance on our domestic needs.

What the President Can Do

What could change the projection in a major way? The President can still keep the defense budget from using up all the Vietnam savings. It may prove significant that budget authority in defense, reflecting funds for future years as well as fiscal 1970, was cut by $3 billion compared with only the $1.1 billion cut in fiscal 1970 outlays. The President could have opted to keep the surtax as long as the defense budget required it. He can still decide to keep the last half of the surtax and gain $5 billion for other things. He can fight to restrict Social Security increases so as to let trust fund surpluses offset spending increases elsewhere, gaining a few billion dollars more. He can settle for only a token pilot program on revenue sharing for a few years. And he might manage a tax reform package that increases revenues, although politics are against anything better than a revenue standoff here.

On the other side, if the President, in making his choice between inflation and unemployment, decides he must keep real output from growing at the projected 4 1/4 percent rate each year, he will lose still more room for expanding domestic programs. To achieve a difference of 1 percentage point in the unemployment rate through a more restrictive budget policy would require some $10 billion less in government expenditures (or their equivalent in private expenditures generated through special tax programs).

The Job Corps suffered the only major reduction relative to the size of the program when Mr. Nixon sliced its $283 million budget by a third. The number of conservation centers has been cut from 82 to 32 while the number of other centers was increased on balance from 24 to 45. These changes clearly reflect a different opinion on how to get results from the program, rather than any simple economy measure. Head Start and Follow Through also made headlines, partly as a result of ambiguous reports from a study group on the programs' effectiveness and partly because of Mr. Nixon's transferring the programs out of OEO. The Johnson budget had allowed only a $33-million increase for these ventures to a $349-million total. Mr. Nixon did not alter that. But it is another program that is sure to be reorganized.

Mr. Nixon saved $255 million by changing some of the rules governing Medicaid payments. This program had grown beyond everyone's original expectations and and was a likely candidate for some budget trimming. The Nixon changes appear to have little impact on the services the poor will get from the program. His other big money change in the budget for social programs was a $307-million increase to postpone a freeze on eligibility for payments for dependent children (AFDC) that was scheduled for July 1. No doubt Mr. Johnson left the freeze in his figures only because he knew he would not have to live with it. The Model Cities program, which finally gets into the big money in fiscal 1970 was cut back by $25 million, almost a token amount in a year when outlays were jumping from $75 million to $540 million. But the real differences here will be in the conception and administration of the program under HUD's Secretary Romney, who confused, angered and pleased various people when he tried recently to outline the Administration's views.

Since the original budget review, Mr. Nixon has made a major statement promising $274 million more for anti-hunger programs. Here his plans look ambitious, with funding scheduled to go to $2.5 billion in fiscal 1971 from $1.5 billion in Mr. Johnson's fiscal 1970 budget.

All this implies no aim to dismantle the Johnson programs. In word, if not yet in deed, Mr. Nixon and his Administration seem concerned about the right

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things. What is missing, is any commitment to insure employment for all, any "Marshall Plan for the Cities" or any talk of erasing the $10 billion poverty gap.

Employment demands a high priority. The fiscal 1970 budget provides $3.5 billion for all manpower programs, up from $2.6 billion in fiscal 1968, and from under $1 billion in 1964. These programs will serve two million individuals, but only a small fraction of them with effective on-the-job training. It would cost $6 billion to bring two million people into the JOBS program at the present annual subsidy of $3,000 per worker. But it is doubtful that all these individuals could be recruited at this low cost. If government employment were used instead, two million jobs would cost $10 billion, plus the cost of training and other support that was needed. Of course, government employment would produce goods and services; the true cost would be only the implicit subsidy in the workers' pay. Any rise in unemployment would increase the number of persons to be served and proportionately raise the cost.

Improving the health and education of underprivileged, poor children demands attention for its own sake; it is also an intelligent investment if we hope to avoid the larger future cost to society of neglecting these children now. To expand the Head Start program to a full year basis for all needy children and continue them into the Follow-Thru program would cost $2 billion compared with the $350 million budgeted at present. Grants totalling $1.1 billion are now made to local school districts for the education and minimal nutritional and health care of children from poor families. They cover one-fourth of the $600 average expenditure per pupil in these schools. This level of expenditure cannot provide the staffing and equipment needed to overcome the educational deficiencies of these children. It will require $3 billion in grants to raise the average expenditure per pupil to $900; $5 billion in grants to raise it to $1,200.

The Model Cities program aims at rehabilitating urban slum neighborhoods and providing them with a range of social services. It is scheduled to spend $500 million in 1970. It would spend $5 billion a year if the program were expanded to all the neighborhoods that need it. In addition, to get anywhere near our national goal of six million new low-cost dwelling units over the next decade would require another $5 billion a year of publicly assisted construction.

Many of these initiatives attack the conditions of poverty. Some, such as programs providing employment, can remove poverty directly. But only direct income maintenance can eliminate poverty for the great majority of the 22 million persons with 1968 incomes below the official poverty line, and for the many more who are near poor by this definition. Mr. Nixon is making a start. He is expanding direct food relief. In his tax reform proposals, he introduced a low-income allowance that eliminates federal income taxes for all persons below the official poverty line; the cost is only $665 million, all going to the poor. And HEW Secretary Finch and Daniel Moynihan are reportedly winning their case for an improved national welfare system. If we could just hand everyone below the poverty line the difference between their incomes and the poverty line income, it would cost $10 billion – the poverty gap. But this would have impossible disincentive effects; people who quit working would not only end up with a bigger government handout than those who continued earning their bread, but with exactly the same fiscal income: in effect, a 100 percent tax rate on any income the poor try to earn. We cannot eliminate poverty this cheaply. The simplest negative income tax proposals reduce this disincentive by using a lower negative income tax rate, such as 50 percent, and pay benefits beyond the poverty level in order to provide sufficient income below it with only the 50 percent negative tax rate. (See "Do We Want Children's Allowances?" by James Tobin, *NR*, November 25, 1967.) The cost of such a program, after subtracting present public assistance expenditures, is estimated at $22 billion, with about $5 billion going to lower-income families above the official poverty line. Whether it is done through the tax system or otherwise, this is about what it will cost to eliminate poverty.

It All Costs Money

We are also going to need budget room for other things, and not just at home but in assistance to the poor nations of the world. But the initiatives I have described suffice to warn of the costs we should be planning for. These costs are not large in terms of tomorrow's trillion-dollar economy. But they are in terms of the marginal room in the budget they must compete for.

Mr. Nixon says he wants to offer accomplishments rather than promises. But big accomplishments will need a lot of money. The fear is that Mr. Nixon may try to do without it, or thinks he will find it by cutting waste out of the present budget. Budget Directors Schultze and Zwick worked hard at this under Mr. Johnson, and now Mr. Mayo is doing the same. But nobody should expect much saving from this process. Outside of defense, where different observers value things so differently, the possibilities for big savings come in a few politically strong programs. Cutting back river valley development, redesigning agricultural price support and subsidy programs, and removing some duplication and some unwarranted payments to veterans could save at least $2 billion of annual budget expenditures, but a lot of Congressmen would balk. Some Research and Development programs, most of the impacted areas program and a few smaller projects such as maritime subsidies could also go if their effectiveness were properly judged, saving perhaps $1

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billion more. To Mr. Nixon's credit, he did make a small dent in the impacted areas program, cutting $55 million; and he took $40 million from the Corps of Engineers budget for next year. But it is doubtful he will want to or, desiring it, be able to save more than a minor fraction of the $3 billion listed here.

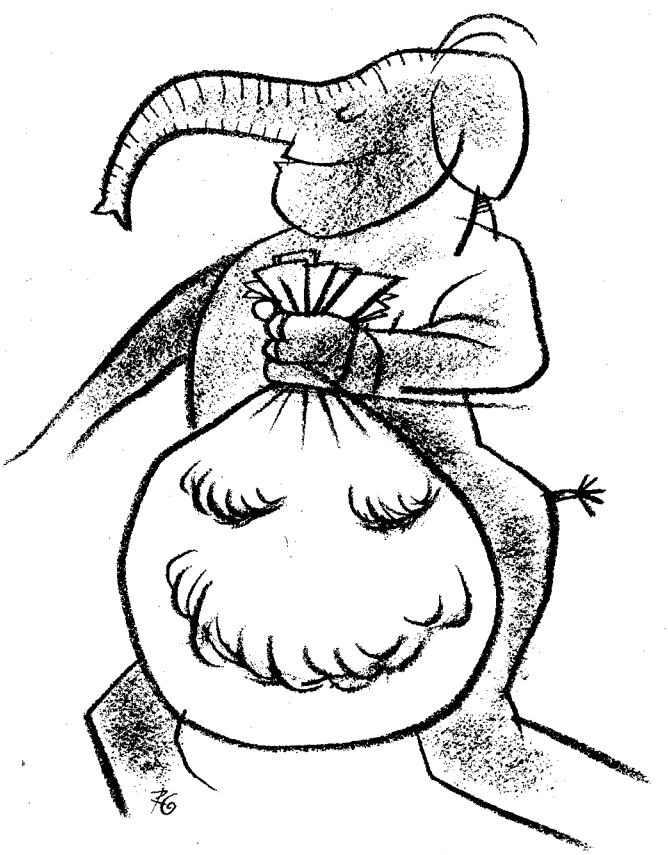
Attempts to involve the private sector and other levels of government through general tax preferences or other indirect subsidies rather than with direct outlays or subsidies – hallmarks of "new thinking" about how to deal with out domestic problems – may deserve a try. They may find easier sailing in the Congress than would an outright expansion of direct support programs. And they may serve some functions better: if they could induce business to hire and train unskilled youths in really significant numbers, it would be a great step forward. But there are inherent drawbacks.

In general, indirect subsidies are efficient if they are intended to apply broadly, as in the case of the investment credit or the favorable tax treatment accorded home ownership. They are less useful, and potentially very wasteful, if their aim is supposed to be more selective. The JOBS program offers direct subsidies to cover the extra costs of employing designated workers. Indirect subsidies would require some general definition of eligibility and a more arbitrary formula for the amount of the subsidy. How would such an indirect program operate when some workers have skills worth just less than the going wage while others are much further from earning their own way? How do you indirectly support construction of better housing in the ghetto without leaving loopholes to benefit construction elsewhere? The risk is that $2 billion of subsidy will buy only $1 billion of the construction it was designated for.

There is another problem with indirect methods: used for purposes such as getting needed construction done, they are unlikely to save much budget room in the true sense. Yet because they may appear to offer a cheaper way to do the job, they make it easy to put off the hard budget and tax decisions that are inevitable. To see why this is so, imagine a tax incentive that succeeds in constructing $5 billion a year of ghetto housing that would not otherwise have been built. For the moment assume that such a program loses only $3 billion a year in revenues. The true budget room it uses up in the sense of other spending that has to be curtailed, is still $5 billion. What has to be reckoned is the claim on the year's total output or GNP that is made by a program; and the one just described claims $5 billion of GNP just as much as $5 billion of direct construction expenditures by the government would have. The real function of the budget is to arrive at a particular allocation of the total GNP. And if it serves to create $5 billion of ghetto construction by whatever means, it must cut off $5 billion of other demands, whether by holding back on other expenditures in this amount or by reducing this amount of private spending through taxation (or through a tighter monetary policy). The real allocative choices of what gets produced and for whom cannot be avoided.

The problem is rarely seen in this light, partly because it is so difficult to make correct estimates. Yet this principle actually governs budget decisions indirectly. It does so by causing the government to plan for a particular deficit or surplus in the overall budget (and a particular stance in its monetary policy). If one imagined a lot of success with such tax incentives, resulting in a larger part of the GNP being devoted to the supported programs (say $10 billion) with only smaller impacts recorded in the form of revenue loss (say $5 billion), the government would simply find itself planning on larger surpluses (roughly $5 billion larger) in order to avoid inflation. A given GNP would be achieved with a higher level of government saving (surplus) as the tax incentive stimulated private expenditures. The government would be faced with the same situation that prevails today when exceptionally strong private investment demands cause it to hold back expenditure programs and aim for large surpluses. Mr. Nixon's decision to repeal the investment credit completes the analogy.

Thus there are really no cheap solutions. Tens of billions are needed for social programs. Mr. Nixon can provide them, if he sets the right priorities. Up to now, he has done neither very badly nor very well.



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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Winning
Universal

The first shot: in the middle of the vast Panavision-Technicolor screen, a closeup of two flowers, in soft focus. It looks like *Red Desert* revisited. There are distant buzzes on the sound track. The camera moves slowly over a greensward with figures on it, still misty and gentle. Then – *wham!* – we cut to a roadway, the buzzes turn into roars, and cars are whizzing at us. It's a racing picture!

Those opening ten seconds of *Winning* are a sketch of the changes in American culture in the past decade or so. The film proceeds to fill in the sketch, but this opening bit contains the essential ingredients: pop art feeding on high art in order to make the product "smart" for the new pop audience.

I'm not worrying about desecration. Who wants to protect art that can't take care of itself? (Remember those silly protests some years ago against the jazzing-up of Bach?) I merely note that a mission has been accomplished: the new, affluent, university-trained middle-class has sent its forces into the world of entertainment to wrest pop art from vulgarians and to lacquer it with chic. "We are bright now," says the new middle, "and those corny vroom-vroom pictures about auto racing will no longer do for people with eight-track stereo and museum memberships. Oh, we still *want* the racing pictures, but please . . . a la mode." The emissaries have done well. They have produced the "adult" Western and the "adult" gangster thriller. *Winning* is an "adult" kids' picture.

It's not the first, but it's a good example – one more fruit of the culture of art-sniffing TV drama and absurdly "sophisticated" photography in *Look* and *Life* and *Esquire* and the Essays in *Time* that soften up important subjects like an Eskimo wife chewing sealskin for her mate's boots. It's no surprise that James Goldstone, the young director of *Winning*, comes out of television, where he edited and directed. Not only do TV series (when they are made on film) give a man a good technical training, they school him in the essential skill of plucking, from the works of committed men, things that are adaptable and useful and *smart* for show biz. And Howard Rodman, who wrote *Winning*, is another TV alumnus: sharp, agile, frank with all the power of liberated triteness.

Not that *Winning* is a bore. Fast action pictures, if they obey some rough rules of reason, aren't boring. But in its aspirations to be more than an action picture, it is merely modish and intrinsically spurious. Basically it's the same old racetrack story, about the man who loves cars and a girl but who spends so much time with the former that he runs into trouble with the latter. The up-to-date décor includes the fact that he and she sleep together before they are married; that her wavering consists of actually going to bed with another driver; that the hero's mechanic, instead of being an older man like Walter Brennan, is a younger man with – how's this for nitty-gritty? – a hearing aid. And the wife's 16-year-old son berates his mother in Hamlet style for her sexual behavior. But under the frank frosting, the old recipe is there. After the hero wins the Indianapolis 500, his mechanic says, "We all made a lot of money yesterday," and he replies, "Jeez, there's got to be more to it than that." True, there's a small twist in that race: the hero doesn't beat his rival – the driver-seducer – in a close finish; the other driver burns out his motor (a character touch) and has to quit. Nevertheless Movieland insists that the seducer go through the Kabuki ritual punishment. After all the fuss is over and he has won the race, the hero socks the bad guy on the jaw.

What keeps the picture from tedium, besides its hard action, is Paul Newman's performance as the racer-hero. Newman simply seems incapable of making a false move or sound. Admittedly, he runs few risks in his roles; unlike the only rival he has in postwar US films, Marlon Brando, Newman rarely hazards much in the roles he chooses. (As does Brando, who so admirably dared to fail in *Reflections in a Golden Eye*.) But whatever Newman does, he consummates. In that sententious Western *Hombre*, I really believed he was a white man raised by Indians; he *sat* like a stranger. In *Winning* the role is a piece of cake for him, no strain at all. The only moments approaching difficulty are not intense emotional peaks, of which there are few, but the moments of silence, of which there are several. For a small, fine demonstration of imagination quietly at work, look at the scene in which Newman enters the motel room and discovers his wife and friend in bed. He stops, then closes the door behind him and stands looking at them. Then he turns, opens the door, and leaves. There is a whole spectrum in the pause: of recollection and futility and hurt. Utterly true, utterly free of cliché symbol.

Joanne Woodward plays his wife and underplays it with nice timing. Her part is lumpily written. She ascribes her infidelity to a weakness of character that had not been apparent in her. Obviously the plot needed her infidelity and, *ex post facto*, they gave her the quirks.

Goldstone, the director, must be credited with two achievements. He and his editors really provide the sensations of speed, much more than John Frankenheimer in *Grand Prix*, which I walked out of. I daresay Howard Hawks got real speed into *Red Line 7000* (1965), which I missed; that sort of masculine action is Hawks' forte, as I remember from his previous racing film *The Crowd Roars* (1932). But Goldstone, like Hertz, really put me in the driver's seat.

And out of his big bag of borrowed visual devices, out of Truffaut and Lelouch and others, Goldstone pulls one real accomplishment. Although much of the time, these devices are merely impasted modernity, he does use them validly to certify Newman's character. The hero needs a certain stillness, a potential for somewhat deeper thought than his fellows, if the film is going to hang together at all. In older days the producers might have given, say, John Garfield a few tinselly poetic utterances to prove that he had a soul. Goldstone uses optical materials – montage and dreamy reminiscence – to suggest thoughtfulness, and it works.

But from the picture's title, with its echo of Henry Green, on through the Antonioni and other derivations and the nervously pared dialogue, *Winning* is a good example of the new hybrid – pop art superficially upgraded. Nine

(Continued on page 40)

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Daniel Aaron: A Purgatorial Journey

Henry James: The Treacherous Years, 1895-1901 by Leon Edel

(J. B. Lippincott; $10.00)

Leon Edel's many-faceted study of Henry James, now nearing completion, hasn't invariably pleased the Jamesians (a very opinionated and touchy breed of critical cat) who derive different meanings from the lesson of the Master. His fourth and next to the last volume, however, should convince even the most grudging and suspicious among them that he is writing a remarkable biography.

Edel's *Henry James* is not one of those stiff, richly upholstered "life-and-works" that constitute a kind of definitive entombment of the celebrated author. It does not march along in chronological installments. Each volume is at once retrospective and anticipatory; the movement of the narrative is tidal. And because Edel believes with James that to relive another's life the biographer must relive his subject's changing perceptions and tally his inner and outer existence, he has done more than to shadow his quarry detective-fashion, pinpointing his movements, ransacking his mail, tracking down his intimates. He has also subjected James's fiction to the closest textual reading. To Edel the most illuminating revelations are not to be found in James's camouflage of expatiation but in the depths of his fiction.

Edel, then, extracts his interpretation of the inner Henry James from the stories, novels, and plays, but he is seldom doctrinaire in his hypotheses and keeps them harnessed to the demonstrably factual. A devoted disciple, he searches for clues that will disclose the figure in the carpet and winces at every hint divulged by the Master. But Edel the biographer is always checking Edel the analyst. The biographer meticulously charts the bends and twists of the writer's life – that is to say, his comings and goings, his family entanglements and friendships, his literary career. The analyst simultaneously explores the sinuosities of the underground stream far more difficult to map. Fact and supposition support each other.

The James of Edel is far more complex and tangled than the "winged bust" of André Gide. Some of Edel's critics complain that his veneration for James has made him overprotective, that he regards any slur against his whitewashed god as a form of spiritual vandalism. If so it doesn't prevent him from contrasting the triumphant artist with the vulnerable man, unconfident, elephantine, struggling to master his panics and terrors. Here is the many-sided public figure: august Olympian, cultivated and worldly, massive, witty, suave (almost Florentine), a personage of the Establishment like a bishop or a prime minister, frequenter of theaters, diner-outer, guest at country houses, friend of writers and royalty, and cold, critical dissector of the very society that he at once relishes and despises. And here is also the hesitant, qualifying, self-effacing, ambitious and resentful little boy smarting from his psychic hurts, the sensitive and babied second son fearing failure, seeking approval, and conducting a loving vendetta against his brilliant older brother who intimidates and antagonizes him until James is well into the far side of middle age.

The Treacherous Years opens like an Ibsen play where the protagonist is about to fall into an abyss. The "discriminated occasion" is the culminating smash of James's threatrical ambitions and the humiliating and bruising experience of being jeered at by the upper galleries after the first performance of his play, "Guy Domville." Considered simply as a spectacle, there is something ridiculous about the scene – a lofty and circumlocutionary man figuratively pelted by the populace – and something poignant too. It produced in him a nervous reaction his Swedenborgian father would have diagnosed as a "vastation." During the next six years Henry James floundered, almost drowned, found support, and dragged himself out of the maelstrom. This is the internal drama raging beneath the surface of his public life between 1895 and 1901.

Edel is never bewildered by Henry James's bewilderment, because he sees this strenuous period as an essential piece in the Jamesian puzzle. Here, as in the other volumes of the biography, he keeps looking back, picking up relevant details from the past that explain the present and prefigure the future. He has already demonstrated how James, when under stress, invariably reopened his old and imperfectly healed psychic lesions. We also know from Edel's previously published introduction to James's plays the fictional consequences of his emotional lacerations after the cruel reception of "Guy Domville" – that spate of gruesome and mournful tales of infant-martyrs sacrificed upon the altars of adult selfishness. Edel attaches these fantasies to James's adolescence and youth, to his suppressed resentments against parents and siblings and his feelings of being unwanted and unloved. The children in "The Turn of the Screw" are victimized by a well-intentioned authoritarian (Edel demolishes the often accepted view that the apparitions are actually present), and in a number of other stories in which girls and boys are slaughtered to make an adult holiday, he brilliantly objectifies and, in the process, exorcises his private demons.

Henry James salvaged treasures from his humiliations and defeat. Out of the theatrical fiasco he retrieved the device of the scenario, that soliloquized blueprint for the novelistic edifices to come. The purchase of a typewriter changed his manner of living – the expense of transporting machine and stenographer curtailed his travel – but it also served as an instrument for his self-exorcism. Now he could muse

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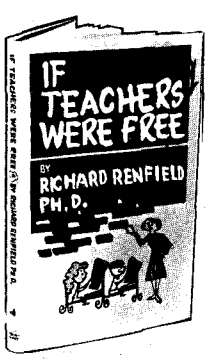

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aloud more readily; and with a change in prose style which dependence on the typewriter helped to effect came a change in attitude toward himself and his prospects. He survived the treacherous years because his mind, familiar with the convolutions of treachery, directed his way to freedom. It required a kind of courage he had not hitherto shown to save himself: a willingness to make commitments; to confront the coercive past as bravely as his pacifist-soldier, Owen Wingrave; to buy Lamb House (houses, Edel brilliantly demonstrates, are portentous symbols in these years); to love, to feel, to "live" as intensely as he could. His self-therapy completed, he could put on a new face (symbolically suggested by the shaving off of his beard) and take up the tasks of the "major phase."

The Treacherous Years is not unlike a socio-psychological novel with a dash of the detective story. The hero's personal crises are projected against a screen of public events – the exposure and punishment of Oscar Wilde, the Dreyfus case, Anglo-American friction over Venezuela, the Spanish-American war – which interact with his private agitations. Strict adherence to a "scenario," with its theme of the triumph of sanity over sickness, may have led Edel to slide over too quickly certain episodes that touch upon James's homoeroticism and what Edel calls his "spiritual transvestism." Throughout the book, Edel presents James as a man whose masculinity, though deep and abiding, was forever being threatened. Hence his retreat into feminine incarnations. Presumably his "religion of doing" enabled him at last to abandon his womanly refuge, and yet his delight in literary "nephews" and his unabashed and unrequited love for the young sculptor Hendrik Anderson might raise some doubts as to the completeness of his self-therapy.

There is no reason to question Edel's assertion, on the other hand, that by 1901 Henry James was ready to accept himself and life, with all its flaws, as a totality. Disciplined by disaster, he could incorporate into his last great novels, already incubating in his imagination, what he had acquired during "his six year purgatorial journey" – the sense of "beauty, mystery, relations, abysses."

Ben Harding's Flying Machine

As the thing with crisscrossed wires between its wings
went up like a halfbaked bird and then crashed down,
the men yelled "Get a horse" and the ladies tittered
but Ben Harding got out and bowed in his goggles and cap
and clasped his hands above his head in a sign of winning
and wasn't embittered.

Greeted with jokes on the street,
he went right on thinking and tinkered around
and once, on a porchswing, my mother (with eyes averted)
told (and she might have if his nails hadn't oozed grease)
asked her to marry him, and blurted
when she laughed no, "All right, you'll see, you'll see!"

Ben went home whistling and patiently twisted his wrenches
until even the stupidest cows had to agree
as a sound like a giant lawnmower ratcheted over
and their milk curdled, and dogs, terrified, peed,
that someone besides birds could fly and angels hover
and shine in the sky and suddenly pick up speed.

And Ben became famous and rich and was good to his mother,
giving her houses and servants and cars and gown after gown
from Paris (and never married) my mother said (with a sigh)
as if she almost wished instead of doubting she'd believed
he'd get off the ground, and high above town,
like Zeus with Leda, her sons had been conceived.

HAROLD WITT

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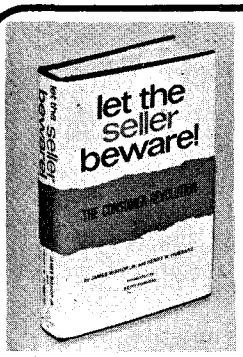

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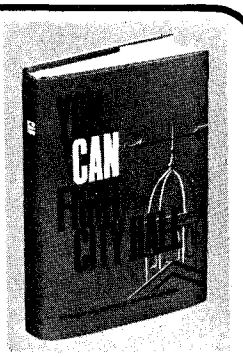

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Jonathan Eisen: Dukes Up

Die Nigger Die by H. Rap Brown

(Dial; $3.95)

For Rap Brown, the time has come, as the Rolling Stones put it, for street-fighting men; it's time for gathering the forces for the final blow against the oppressor. For him there are only two kinds of black people: Blacks and Negroes, those who oppose the man and those who placate him, those who claim their identity as distinct from white society and those who try to make peace with it by surrendering their selves to its demands for subservience. Brown stakes out his position early on: "The police came in there with that white attitude. So I used to just rip their ass." To give an inch means to be co-opted, made over in the image of the slave owner. To fight means to be respected – or at least left alone. It's *us* versus *them;* there are no real friends; white society is venal and racist throughout and must be fought not only politically but on every level. One lives with one's dukes up – there are no other choices: there is no cabal, no conspiracy other than the fact of culture.

"We have not made any progress since we have been in this country. We are still slaves! Concessions are not to be confused with progress. Whites have made concessions only out of political necessity. The country only loosens its hold on Black people to get a better grip. Whites and negroes talk of progress and point to Thurgood Marshall. . . . We have not made any progress. Negroes go for anything white folks tell them or sell them."

Brown flails his fists and the whites quaver, he insults and the liberals wag their heads in agreement. Our maximum guilt. But the real questions, it seems, center around whether there is movement toward an end to repression, and whether Brown is helping bring about a revolution.

For my own part I think that Brown in his exhortatory brashness has managed to attach himself to stereotypes about black people that are not far removed from those of white racists: that there are only two kinds of blacks, for example, is a statement that one would not allow a white to get away with, and I don't think that Brown ought to be allowed to either – whatever his political purpose in doing so. Nor, I think, should his having draped himself in the flag of revolution prevent us from questioning whether or not Brown's tactics have become in many crucial ways counter-productive to the goal of black liberation. Indeed, there are already many ominous indications that the current Administration is gearing up for a wave of repression that will make the Joe McCarthy era seem like a hundred flowers blooming.

Which is not to advocate a halt to organizing, demonstrations and revolutionary preparation *per se.* There is no reason for radical activity to avoid confrontations merely because of an aroused right and an increasingly quavering center. There is reason, however, to take more careful stock of the options now available to the movement and to analyze more carefully than Brown has precisely what sorts of options are going to be open and desirable *in the long run.* We are, as Brown says, talking about three hundred years of racist oppression, a very long run, and there is every reason to consider what kinds of strategies are going to lead to a society where repression is no longer going to be an option. This means avoiding both those tactics that will exacerbate racism, and strategies that make selling out a viable option. Brown's self-indulgent tone, his need for stardom, are not going to make the revolution any more palatable for those who see the need now for selfless dedication to a society in which these kinds of ego problems will lose their primacy.

In fact the very publication of this book is a concession to Brown's ego. An author by any other name would never have been able to sell this to any but a vanity house. There is absolutely nothing new in the way of analysis of the structure and dynamics of racism, nor is there anything very interesting about Brown's personal life. Claude Brown and Piri Thomas – to mention only two recent autobiographers – have made statements far more poignant and convincing, to say nothing of those like Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton who have made the case for black power irrefutable. There is virtually nothing here of Rap Brown's own development, nothing to

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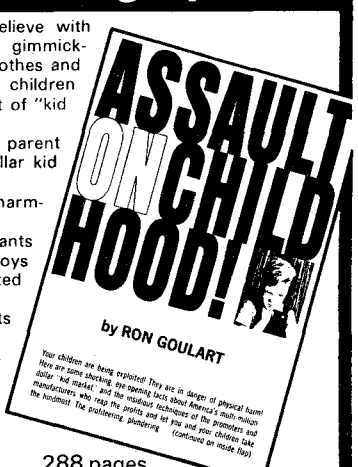

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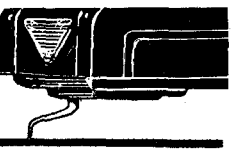

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indicate how he came to his ideas, and indeed a great deal of effort is made to conceal the fact that he was middle class, went to college and suffered less from racism than the overwhelming majority of his brothers and sisters. A more detached, more honest self-assessment, one that was less interested in self-aggrandizement, would have noted the class basis of the new black revolutionaries and would have delineated some areas in which the increasingly dominant black middle class can come to terms with its own emerging culture and ambivalences in the face of the black revolt and the changing nature of white responses.

That Brown has eschewed this kind of analysis in favor of polemic, however, is not to say that he has written a totally valueless book. He has underscored my own pessimism and my lack of hope for both the revolution and revolutionaries alike, and has helped reveal the ways by which the system operates to deny the wholeness of those it represses, shortening their vision to the point where truly revolutionary goals are transmogrified into the kind of invective society can deal with – indeed, really needs in order to confirm its own stereotypes.

Correspondence

Summerhill

Sirs:

Apart from the deteriorating furniture, Summerhill School does not seem to have changed much in more than 30 years, to judge by Mary Keohane's article ("Visit to a Shrine," May 31).

Like Shirley, I was bored, and so became, like Dickie, homesick. I don't remember a beech tree, but I do remember swings, and the boredom of not much else to do in the afternoons but play on them. There were only morning lessons in the Cottage, which was for five- to seven-year-olds, surely too young for boarding school, anyway. Even when I transferred to the House, I didn't find the classes interesting. Perhaps because I was, by then, too bored and miserable to enjoy anything. One of my greatest pleasures until I went to Summerhill was arithmetic, but when I had completed the work books in the Cottage, I was given no more. Maybe no one noticed, or cared, that I couldn't do what I wanted to do; perhaps, at the age of seven, I was already corrupted by conventional schools, and had to learn the pleasures of freedom. Freedom to be bored, freedom to play on swings, freedom, perhaps, from neurotic pleasure in learning?

Years later, when I read A. S. Neill's books, to find out why my mother had so happily and enthusiastically sent me there after reading them, I learned that even the morning classes were not compulsory. No one told us, so even if we had wanted to skip classes, we would not have done so.

Pamela Dunn
Rochester, N. Y.

Sirs:

Mary Keohane appears to typify the droves of curiosity seekers who've been visiting Summerhill in recent years. Her article is certainly consistent with the kinds of reactions I saw all around me during my own visit to Summerhill last June (1968). At that time I was shocked to discover that people came to Summerhill as one might go to see a freak show. By their questions they revealed that they hadn't the slightest sense of what A. S. Neill means by freedom and most pointedly that they had not read his books.

Never does Neill claim to have renounced, "all discipline, all direction, all moral training." His book, *Summerhill, A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* is full of reasoned arguments that give uncompromising priority to the individual's rights; child and adult alike. He writes, "It is this distinction between freedom and license that many cannot grasp. In the disciplined home, the children have no rights. In the spoiled home, they have all the rights. The proper home is one in which children and adults have equal rights and the same applies to school. . . . A child should not be permitted to violate the personal rights of others." His subsequent book *Freedom, Not License* addresses itself entirely just to this crucial distinction.

I saw visitors like Miss Keohane asking questions. . . . "Do you really let them do anything they want to do?" Two elderly women wanted to know

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"What kind of a grading system do you have?" Another demanded "Why are the boys permitted to wear their hair so long." "Why can't we see samples of the children's work?" was another typical request.

I found myself as exasperated as Ena Neill that Saturday afternoon by this repeated ignorance manifest in these foolish queries. It was so patently obvious that many of those who had come were there to see the freaks and challenge whoever would take them on. Ena Neill is a harried woman. A serious question received a deliberate and lengthy response, but indeed she did snap at those who were wasting her time with their mundane questions that betrayed the visitor's derision and insincerity. "Neill is 83," she retorted, "we have to protect him from these people who can't understand that we have neither time, money, nor inclination to hire a welcoming committee or put on a show."

I too saw the shabby rooms and the old furniture, but I did not attribute it to destructiveness of youngsters. In the American public school that I teach, our brand new building after two months shows ample wear and tear. The children use that building. Unfortunately Summerhill doesn't have tax funds available to it to replace children's normal consumption of equipment. I did see creativity, not on bulletin boards however. I saw it in some of the older kids' cottages in the manner they decorated their own room, in the way they dressed. It was not for public show, it was for personal enjoyment. Moreover, the children's living quarters themselves were remarkably neat and comfortable though there were no signs of luxury anywhere. I was there during mealtime too and heard none of these "terrific rows," nor throwing of food. I was impressed enough to ask a staff member how it was that the children seemed so well behaved and courteous wherever I saw them. The answer was a surprise: "In recent years we've been able to be much more selective in whom we admit since we have so many applicants. Neill is becoming too old to take in the disturbed youngsters he once admitted . . . we do tend to eliminate serious problem children . . . yes, most of the youngsters are Americans. His books are more popular there than in Great Britain."

Ena Neill revealed also that Neill no longer holds "Private Lessons," therapy sessions with children who request them. He found over the years that the disturbed children who never asked for the P.L.'s seemed to recover just as effectively as those who did, provided they remained at Summerhill long enough.

We find what we seek. The five year old who took my hand also led me around to the beech tree and offered me a turn on the swing and would I like a push? He dutifully showed me every nook and cranny carefully explaining everything he knew about his school. I wonder how many five year olds would have been as polite, as articulate, and as involved with their school? The pre-teens on the other hand ignored the visitor totally, carrying on their activities nonchalantly.

In one shed, though it was Saturday and classes are normally closed, a teacher and a dozen children were assembled. Several five to seven year olds were reading, working puzzles, coloring, hammering and moving freely around the room. Their American teacher was soft spoken and gentle. He was suggesting why some potted plants might be dying in one of the windows to one; helping another boy to feed the chickens, he was interrupted by a little girl who wanted to know how to do an addition problem. Patiently he showed her for nearly 10 minutes how to "borrow." Next he had to lend his ear to two very earnest little people who were softly telling him a story they had just made up.

Was this classroom attractive and neat? No. It was shabby, crowded, and poorly equipped in the usual sense, but it was as facilitating an environment for learning as I have ever seen. The teacher was genuinely acting the role of midwife, drawing out, as the word education was originally intended to mean. . . . I realized what an intrusion

Notes on Contributors

DANIEL AARON *is professor of English and director of the American Studies program at Smith College. During the past academic year he has been teaching at the University of Sussex in England.* JONATHAN EISEN's *latest book is* The Age of Rock, Sounds of the American Cultural Revolution.

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this constant stream of gawkers must be. Anyone who really wants to know what Summerhill is all about cannot expect to go there for two visits and come away with any meaningful conclusion. Miss Keohane doesn't recognize this. Her prejudices are eminently conspicuous. I wonder if she would recognize genuine individual happiness as A. S. Neill would define it, not to speak of "bonds bursting exuberance."

Josie E. Crystal
Westwood School
UCLA Training, Los Angeles

Sirs:

Since my name was mentioned in Mary Keohane's article, and since I am Director of what is considered an American equivalent (whatever that really means) to The Summerhill School, perhaps you will allow me a few lines.

I lived and worked in Summerhill during part of 1962, and upon my return, my book, *Summerhill A Loving World* was published; this book is an accurate picture of what I encountered while living with Neill and his wonderful and large family of 52 children and nine adults (including Neill and his wonderful and very warm wife, Ena).

In December of last year Neill came to America for the first time in 20 years and my wife and I had an opportunity to visit with him again. It was a wonderful evening for all of us. At one point during dinner Neill sighed deeply and said, "Ah, Herb, it is good having dinner with you and Kate. You don't ask me fool questions. We seem to be talking about things that really matter, and I feel good right now." He looked old and tired and our hearts went out to him. He has lived a long and full life. What he has accomplished in these past 45 years cannot be overlooked or superficially viewed.

I am not sure how long Mary Keohane spent in Summerhill. My overall reaction to her article left me with the idea that she wasn't there very long.

I wonder why it seemed more important to concentrate on the rule about not leaving the grounds without permission rather than wondering and reflecting on why the child seemed so scared talking with Ena. I also wonder why Mary Keohane didn't bother to find out herself later on. I wonder why she did not try to feel and see why Dickie was so homesick; what was it in his background that had made him so frightened a child?

Trying to evaluate whether freedom works with what the "graduates" finally end up doing has so little to do with why Summerhill exists. . . . There have been very few children who have sustained ten years of living in Summerhill. When I lived there, outside of Zoe Neill, there were only three other children who were in the school from the time they were six. They were 16 and 17 when I was there. I do not consider it fair to say someone is a graduate of Summerhill simply because he or she spent their last two years of school there.

To undo the damage of a repressive home and cultural environment takes more than two years if it is ever undone anyway.

Spending a weekend in Summerhill, filled with expectations which were not fulfilled is more a reflection of the writer than of the school. It isn't a "Shrine." It isn't a "Free School" (whatever that is anyway). It is an environment in and through which children hopefully will make conscious those unconscious feelings, wishes and desires which will enable them to breathe deeply and love life. So few people really do.

Herb Snitzer,
Director, Lewis-Wadhams

Kauffmann, *from page 32*

years ago Dwight Macdonald wrote a celebrated essay in which he marked out three cultural areas, High Culture, Mass Culture (*not* folk art), and something he called Midcult. The latter brought High Culture down to bite-size available form. I think the areas are changing; the new culture beavers are bringing Mass Culture up to the middle. As the figurative social masses are being absorbed into the middle class, so Masscult is being absorbed into Midcult, and possibly there will soon be no Masscult left, in Macdonald's terms. I'm of course not talking about such phenomena as the Beatles and post-Beatles rock, which are making their own individual *bona fides* very clear. I mean such traditional Masscult forms as, for instance, the auto-racing picture. These are the forms that are being garlanded and "classed up" with the trappings of art. For the best artists, who I daresay are amused by the borrowings, there is presumably only one motto: Onward and Inward.

Personals

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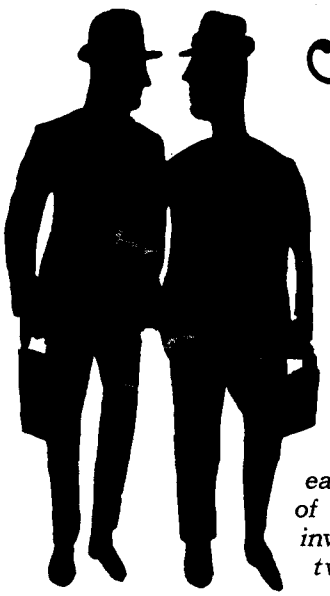

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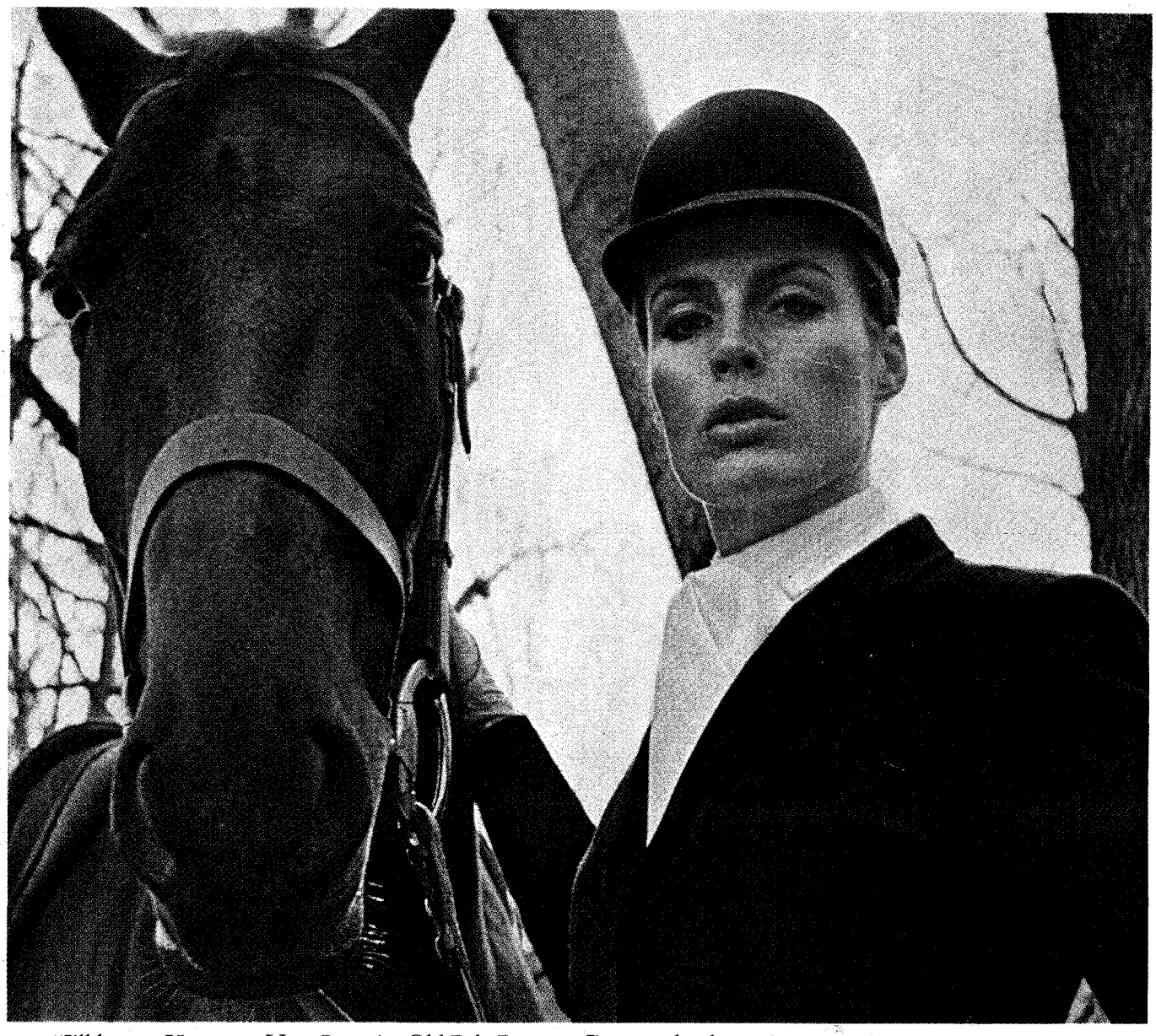

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